

Slana — radikalni krajobraz — radical landscape



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impresum

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A Memorial-Challenge

Sjećanje je otpor. Kao ni u jednom drugom, ni u ovom otporu nema sigurnih ni predvidivih ishoda. Kao ni drugi oblici otpora, ni sjećanje ne počiva na lakim rješenjima i sigurnosti u uspjeh, nego na razumijevanju da u politici zaborava kakvu imamo više decenija nije upitno dostojanstvo zaboravljenih, već isključivo i samo onih koji zaboravljaju.

Zločin nad žrtvama Slane zločin je nad čovjekom, prije svega nad onima koji je nisu preživjeli, ali i nad njezinim posljednjim zatočenicima koji su potom postali prvi zatočenci koncentracijskog logora u Jasenovcu. Zlostavljanja i ubijanja ostavila su traga i na onima koji su ih mogli čuti u svojim domovima, ali koji najčešće nisu mogli pomoći zatočenicima i zatočenicama ovog



Memory is resistance. As with any other avenue of resistance, there are no certain or predictable outcomes. As is the case with other forms of resistance, memory does not rely on easy solutions or a guarantee of success, but on the realization that in the politics of forgetting, the kind we have been witnessing for the last several decades, the dignity of those forgotten matters less than of those who forget.

The crime committed against the victims of Slana is a crime against humanity, in the first instance against the ones who did not survive, but also against its last captives, who subsequently became the first prisoners of the concentration camp in Jasenovac. The killings and abuse left their mark on the ones who could hear them in their homes as well, but who most often could not help the prisoners, the detainees of this sadistic system. However, in the act of remembrance, the focus should not be directed exclusively at the brutality and Ustacha violence committed in the summer of 1941 within the concentration camp system of Gospić-Jadovno-Pag, but rather at remembering the victims as they were until the moment of deportation. Remembering their names, native lands and towns, and their traditions. We should be mindful of whom we, as a society, lost and how something like that was possible, that is, who the perpetrators were and from where

sadističkog sustava. Ipak u sjećanju valja izbjeći isključivu usredotočenost na brutalnost i ustaško nasilje koje se odvijalo ljeta 1941. godine na području koncentracijskog sustava Gospić-Jadovno-Pag te upamtiti žrtve onakvima kakve su bile do momenta deportacije. Upamtiti njihova imena, zavičaje, njihove običaje. Osvijestiti koga smo kao društvo izgubili i kako je takvo nešto bilo moguće odnosno tko su bili počinitelji i odakle im volja za destrukcijom, ali i moć da je provedu.

U sjećanju, na koncu, valja posebno mjesto sačuvati za one koji su riskirali vlastite živote ne bi li pružili otpor organiziranom zlu. Sjećanje uvijek reflektira onog koji ili onu koja se sjeća. Upravo zato Srpsko narodno vijeće godinama poziva



they derived their urge for destruction, as well as the power to fulfil it. Finally, in the act of remembrance, we should reserve a special place for those who risked their own lives in order to resist organized evil. Remembrance is always a reflection of the one who remembers. This is precisely why the Serb National Council has for many years initiated collaborations with cultural practitioners and artists who contribute to our collective art of remembrance, the art of resistance and hope, the ones who respond to the memorial-challenge.

It was late when the phone rang. It was the middle of the night, on 8th February, 1993, when Ante Zemljar picked up the receiver, not in the least surprised by the disturbing news, pushing away the swells of sorrow and air, into which his house on his native island of Pag was blown only several hours before. That was the price Ante Zemljar paid for his continued efforts to maintain the memory of the victims of one of the first death camps in the Independent State of Croatia. In a conversation with his wife Vjera, he briefly commented, "Oh, just let it go... I wasn't born with a house anyway."

Five years earlier, on 15th January, this diligent researcher wrote to Nada Feuereisen, a former prisoner at Metajna:

Slana testimonials

na suradnju kulturno-umjetničke radnice i radnike koji doprinose našem kolektivnom umijeću sjećanja, umijeću otpora i nade, one koji se odazivaju na spomen-izazov.

Telefon je zazvonio kasno. Bila je već mrkla noć, 8. februara 1993., kada je Ante Zemljarić podigao slušalicu te, nimalo iznenađen uznemirujućim vijestima, iz sebe otkotrljao stogove tuge i zraka u koji je njegova kuća samo par sati ranije poletjela na rodnome Pagu. Bila je to cijena koju je Ante Zemljarić platio zbog svoje dugogodišnje borbe za sjećanje na žrtve jednog od prvih logora smrti u NDH-u. Kratko je prokomentirao u razgovoru sa suprugom Vjerom: “Ma pusti... nisam se s kućom ni rodio.”

Iskazi o Slani

Pet godina ranije, 15. januara, pisao je Nadi Feuereisen, bivšoj zatočnici u Metajni:

“Ako budemo pametni, Slana može postati trajna inspiracija u obračunu sa zlom i ujedno škola humanizma i plemenitosti za buduće naraštaje. O njoj će se još mnogo pisati i biti joj posvećene mnoge plemenite misli i usklađeni stihovi.”

U tih je par rečenica i uz ogradu “ako budemo pametni” Zemljarić rekao sve o, danas to zasigurno znamo, propuštenim prilikama da se teško povijesno iskustvo transformira u mogućnost učenja o razlikovanju dobra i zla, a potom i o pružanju ot-

“If we are smart, Slana could become a permanent inspiration in the battle against evil, but also, a lesson in humanity and nobleness for the future generations. Much more will be written about Slana and many noble thoughts and graceful verses will be dedicated to it.”

In those few sentences, yet aware of the obstacles, expressed in the words “if we are smart,” Zemljar said it all, there is no question today, about the missed opportunities of transforming a burdensome historical experience into a chance to learn about differentiating right from wrong, and about resisting evil. Zemljar undoubtedly knew much about that, because in the days of 1941, as the last traces of crushed human lives faded from those killed at Slana, together with his friend Oren



pora zlu. O tome je Zemljara svakako znao mnogo, jer je te 1941. godine, dok su zadnji tragovi smoždenih ljudskih života isparavali iz ubijenih na Slani, sa svojim drugom Orenom Ružićem riskirao vlastiti život ne bi li javno komemorirao stradale. Doznajemo iz ustaškog izvještaja:

„Dne 3. studenoga pronađen je na groblju u Pagu trnov vijenac obješen na jednom križu obojen srebrnom bojom i dugačkom trakom od 2 metra, na kojoj je bilo pisano 'ŽRTVAMA SLANE'. Kotarska ispostava u sporazumu sa talijanskim vlastima vodi istragu proti nepoznatim počiniteljima, ali do danas bez ikakvog uspjeha!“¹

Kako sam Zemljara u djelu “Haron i sudbine” definira, radilo se o spomen-izazovu kojim je odana počast ubijenima, i to u danima izgradnje dugovječnijeg pakla na močvarnoj zemlji Jasenovca, gdje je nazubljeni kamen Slane zamijenila škrgut vlage i organizacijski uznapredovali sadizam. U životu otoka takav je zao naum bio posebno vidljiv, iako su njegovi prvaci činili sve da nasilje

¹ U pripremi ove kronologije zločina na otoku Pagu korišteni su izvratci iz knjige Ante Zemljara “Haron i sudbine”. Rijetki domaći i nešto brojniji inozemni povjesničari i istraživači mogu posegnuti za dokumentacijom koju je za sobom ostavila talijanska sanitarna komisija. Hrvatska i jugoslovenska javnost mogla je i u Novom listu 1985. godine, u 46 nastavaka, čitati o užasima Slane u člancima Borislava Ostojića i Mihaela Sobolevskog. Neke od autentičnih fotografija logora za koje znamo i koje su rijetkost, sačuvane su i nalaze se u arhivima u Zagrebu (Hrvatski povijesni muzej) i Beogradu (Jevrejski istorijski muzej), kao i u u Vojnom arhivu u Rimu. Na zahtjev Talijana, najobuhvatniju je fotodokumentaciju napravio tada jedini fotograf na otoku, Ivan Vidolin. Tek dio fotografija došao je do partizana preko Huga Ribarića Fišera, Židova iz Zagreba koji se sklonio u Crikvenicu. Okupator je uništio negative nakon Ribarićeva odlaska u partizane.

Ružić, he risked his life to publicly commemorate those who were killed.

An Ustacha report states:

“On 3rd Nov, a barbed wire wreath was found at the cemetery in Pag, hung from one of the crosses and painted silver with a long strap of about two metres, which said ‘TO THE VICTIMS OF SLANA’. In agreement with Italian authorities, the precinct unit has launched an investigation to find the unknown perpetrators, but to date they have not been successful!”¹

In his book “Charon and Destinies,” Zemljarić states that the act was a memorial-challenge meant to honour those who were killed, especially in the days when a more long-term hell was being constructed on the marshy land in Jasenovac, where the craggy rocks of Slana were replaced by the grind of humidity and logistically more advanced sadism. In the life of the island such evil intent was particularly conspicuous, even though his fore-runners did everything to normalize the violence and dehumanize the victims. Zemljarić recalls how he and Oren Ružić stood leaning against the wall of a former café, listening to

1 In the preparation of this chronology of the crime on the island of Pag, excerpts from Ante Zemljarić's book “Charon and Destinies” were used. Rare domestic and somewhat more numerous foreign historians and researchers may consult the documentation left behind by the Italian sanitation commission. In 1985, Croatian and Yugoslav public could read about the atrocities of Slana in a series of articles by Borislav Ostojić i Mihael Sobolevski, published in Novi list in 46 instalments. Some of the authentic photographs of the camp, which we know of and which are very rare, have been preserved and are kept in archives in Zagreb (Croatian Museum of History) and Belgrade (Jewish Historical Museum), as well as the Military Archive in Rome. At the request of the Italians, the most comprehensive photo-documentation was conducted by the only photographer on the island at

normaliziraju, a žrtve dehumaniziraju. Prisjeća se tako Zemljar da je s Orenom Ružićem stajao naslonjen na zid nekadašnje kavane slušajući don Felicinovića dok je u njih na javnom događanju upirao prstom: „Ima ovdje nekoliko lažljivaca koji vam govore kako se u logoru na SLANI puca i ubija, umire od gladi. Znamo mi tko buškari i širi takve glasine, komunisti, mogli bi ih na prste nabrojati. A ja vas, dragi moji Pažani, uvjeravam, na Slani se živi bolje nego na vašim ognjištima.“

Ne može se sa sigurnošću utvrditi broj žrtava, ali najmarljiviji istraživač koncentracijskog sustava Gospić-Jadovno-Pag, Đuro Zatezalo, došao je do poimeničnog popisa od 10 000 zatočenika deportiranih iz Zagreba, Grubišnog Polja, Daruvara, Banja Luke, Tribnja (kod Starigrada), Sara-



diocesan priest, don Felicinović, as he pointed his finger at them during a public gathering:

“There are several liars around here who tell you that there is shooting and killing, that people are dying of famine in the SLANA camp. We know who has been agitating and spreading these rumours, the Communists, we could count them on the fingers of one hand. And I, my dear people of Pag, assure you that life in Slana is more comfortable than it is for you at home.”

It is not possible to determine with any certainty the number of victims, but the most diligent researcher of the concentration camp system of Gospić-Jadovno-Pag, Đuro Zatezalo, came up with a list of 10 thousand individual names of prisoners deported from Zagreb, Grubišno Polje, Daruvar, Banja Luka, Tribanj (near Starigrad), Sarajevo, Pakrac, Karlovac, Koprivnica, Gospić, including some people from Pag itself, and from many other places. Slana and Metajna were places of torture, and for some, death.

On the day the Directive on racial belonging was passed, on 30th April 1941, the aforementioned Joso Felicinović and Mijo Babić Giovanni, an Ustacha emigree who had returned from Italy, studied the military map of the island of Pag. The

the time, Ivan Vidolin. Only a portion of the photographs had reached the Partisans, via Hugo Ribarić Fišer, a Jew from Zagreb who had hid in Crikvenica. The aggressor destroyed all the negatives after Ribarić joined the Partisans.

jeva, Pakraca, Karlovca, Koprivnice, Gospića, među kojima su bili i neki s Paga, i iz mnogih drugih mjesta. Za dio njih Slana i Metajna su bile mjesto mučenja i smrti.

Na dan donošenja Zakonske odredbe o rasnoj pripadnosti, 30. aprila 1941. godine, spomenuti je Joso Felicinović analizirao vojnu kartu otoka Paga s Mijom Babićem Đovanijem, ustaškim emigrantom. Upravo je mjesto nenaseljeno, bez vegetacije, s Velebitom u pozadini, odabrano i za poledinu novčanice NDH-a od 1000kn. Mijo Babić je bio na čelu tadašnje Ustaške obrane za osiguranje i tzv. Ureda III.² Tada nastaju obrisi onoga što danas nazivamo koncentracijskim sustavom Gospić-Jadovno-Pag. Žrtve su pristizale iz logora Danica, prethodno deportirane onamo iz svih krajeva tadašnje Nezavisne Države Hrvatske.³ Većina njih nije mogla ni naslutiti što ih očekuje, kako jedan od preživjelih, Zlatko Vajler⁴, navodi u knjizi „Haron i sudbine“:

2 Ministar Andrija Artuković organizirao je Ravnateljstvo za javni red i sigurnost, za čijeg šefa je imenovan Dido Kvaternik. Unutar ove organizacije (koja će u kolovozu formirati UNS - Ustašku nadzornu službu), uspostavljena je Ustaška obrana za osiguranje unutar koje je djelovao tzv. Ured III koji je bio nadležan za organiziranje koncentracijskih logora.

3 Nekadašnji direktor Energoinvesta Emerik Blum iz Sarajeva također je preživio Slanu: “Uhapšen sam u Sarajevu 23. lipnja 1941. godine – kao komunist. Jedan mjesec su nas držali u zatvoru u Sarajevu. Nakon toga su nas postrojili u kolone i otpremili na željezničku stanicu gdje su nas utovarili na teretni voz. Poslije tri dana stigli smo u Gospić. Ustaše su nas svrstali u tri grupe: podijelili su nas na komuniste, masone i cioniste. Vezali su nas lancima, po dva čovjeka i svrstali po grupama...”

4 Zagrepčanin židovskog porijekla uhapšen 21. juna 1941.

site of the future concentration camp, uninhabited, barren, with Velebit mountain in the background, was incidentally also chosen for the reverse side of the NDH 1000 kuna bill. Mijo Babić headed the Ustacha Defence for Security and the so-called Office III of the era.² The outlines of what we today term the concentration camp system of Gospić-Jadovno-Pag were being shaped at the time. The victims arrived from the concentration camp Danica, previously deported there from all parts of the Independent State of Croatia.³

As one of the survivors, Zlatko Vajler,⁴ stated in “Charon and Destinies”: Most of them could not have even imagined the fate that awaited them. “Since I was only marginally interested in politics, I was not too worried about deteriorating circumstances in the world and our country. The arrival of increasingly larger groups of Jewish refugees from Austria and Germany and their accounts about the persecutions and casualties did not have

2 Minister Andrija Artuković instituted the Directorate of Public Order and Security and appointed Dido Kvaternik as its Director. Within this organization (which will in August form the Ustacha Surveillance Service), the Ustacha Defence for Security department was organized, while its subdivision, the so-called Office III, was in charge of organizing the concentration camps.

3 Former director of the company Energoinvest, Emerik Blum, from Sarajevo, also survived Slana: “I was arrested in Sarajevo on 23rd June, 1941 – for being a Communist. They held us in prison in Sarajevo for a month. After that, they lined us up in rows and shipped us to the train station where we were boarded onto a freight train. Three days later we arrived in Gospić. The Ustacha divided us into three groups: the Communists, Masons and Zionists. They tied us up with chains, two by two, and split us into groups...”

4 A resident of Zagreb of Jewish descent arrested on 21st June, 1941.



“Politički nedovoljno zainteresovanog nisu me mnogo brinule pogoršane prilike u svetu i našoj zemlji. Dolazak sve većih grupa jevrejskih izbeglica iz Austrije i Nemačke i njihovo kazivanje o progonima i stradanjima nisu mnogo uticali na promenu mog shvatanja sve dok se i kod nas, u poslednjim godinama pred rat, nisu sve učestalije počeli javljati antisemitski izgredi. Sve češće su se na sportskim borilištima i drugde mogli čuti uzvici: 'Udri Židova, ubij Židova'... pa sam tek tada počeo realnije sagledavati stanje oko sebe.“

Istog je dana uhapšen i dr. Oto Radan:

„Uhapšen sam po ustašama u Zagrebu u subotu, 21. VI 1941. god. sa još oko 60 do 70 Židova koji su svi bili članovi našeg zagrebačkog udruže-

a particular effect on my perception, until even in Yugoslavia, in the final years leading up to the war, anti-Semitic incidents started becoming more frequent. At sports events and in other places, you could hear 'Hit the Jew, kill the Jew' more often... and it was only then that I started to see things around me more realistically.

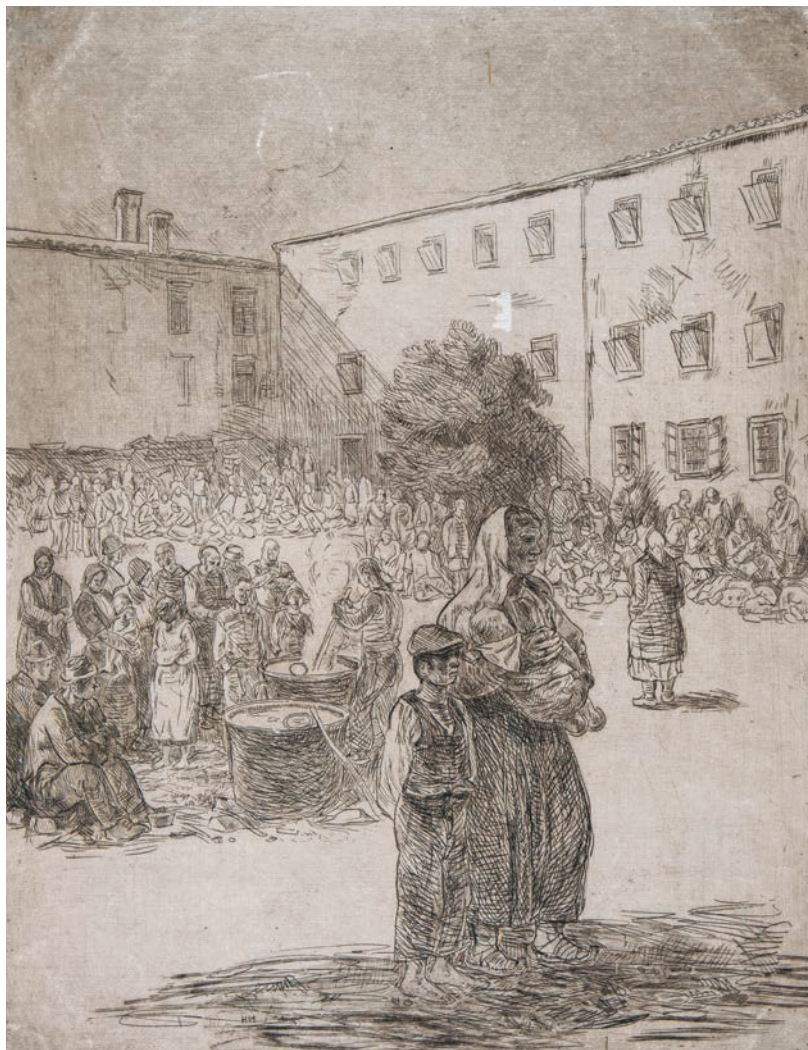
Dr. Oto Radan was arrested on the same day:

"The Ustacha arrested me in Zagreb, on Saturday, 21st June, 1941, with about 60 or 70 other Jews who were all members of the association in Zagreb to which I also belonged, called SBOTIČ, which stood for: the Association of Banking, Insurance, Trade and Industrial Officers. That was our union and it was left-oriented. We were arrested, all of us taken to one hall of the Zagreb Trade Fair (the old trade fair on the left side of Savska Street)."

After being arrested, the prisoners were collected and then deported in heavily guarded freight trains to Gospić. Josip Balaž Jože, a Communist from Daruvar of Hungarian descent, was one of the witnesses who recounted his memories about the Gospić collection point in the following way:

"We were thus herded into the yard of the penitentiary in Gospić. The yard and the entire building were overbrimming with people, so they barely managed to push us inside

nja SBOTIČ, što znači: Savez bankovnih, osiguravajućih, trgovačkih i industrijskih činovnika. To je bio naš sindikat, lijevo orijentiran. Uhapšeni, odvedeni smo svi u jednu prostoriju Zagrebačkog velesajma (stari velesajam na lijevoj strani Savske ceste).“



and we were pressed like sardines. In a short while, one Ustacha from Daruvar (we used to call him Pop-eye) brought in 500 Serbs from the Banija region, which the Ustacha had snatched up from their own fields. When he noticed us on his way in, he spit on us, slapped and hit us with the butt of his rifle and insulted us using terrible words.”

From the Gericht⁵ in Gospić, the prisoners were directed onwards, to Jadovno or Slana.

“The next morning, an Ustacha senior officer came up to us and personally decided who would be taken to Jadovno and who to SLANA. Those of us selected for Jadovno were put on a truck (and if in those days there was anyone who survived Jadovno and was directed to Pag, they were herded from Jadovno across Velebit to Karlobag on foot).”

Oto Radman continues:

“I was destined for SLANA. We were tied two by two with wire and then a chain was introduced between us from beginning to end, all along the line, and tied to us. We moved on foot in the direction of Karlobag, across Velebit mountain along an old road. It was about forty kilometres long. At the front and the

5 Another name for the penitentiary in Gospić (from German, a court of justice), which served as a collection point in the Gospić-Jadovno-Pag system.

Po hapšenju bi uslijedila sakupljanja zatočenika, potom strogo čuvane deportacije marvenim vagonima u Gospić. Josip Balaž Jože, komunist iz Daruvara mađarskog porijekla, također je jedan od svjedoka koji ovako opisuje svoja sjećanja na gospićko sabiralište:

“Tako smo dotjerani u dvorište kaznionice u Gospiću. Ovo dvorište i cijela zgrada bilo je prepuno ljudi (naroda) da smo jedva utrpani među njih i stiskani kao u konzerve. Za kratko vrijeme jedan daruvarski ustaša (zvali smo ga Popaj) dotjerao je 500 Srba sa Banije, koje su ustaše pohvatale po njihovim njivama (poljima). Kada nas je pri ulazu spazio, pljuvao je po nama, ćuškao i udarao kundakom i gnjušno psovao.”

Iz gospićkog Gerichta⁵ zatočenici su upućivani dalje na Jadovno ili u Slanu.

„Sutra ujutro, došao je do nas neki ustaški glavešina i lično je odredio tko će od nas za Jadovno a tko za SLANU. Tko je određen za Jadovno, otišao je kamionom (a ako je tih dana neko preživio Jadovno i upućen na Pag, iz Jadovna je preko Velebita gonjen za Karlobag pješice).“

Nastavlja dalje bivši zatočenik Oto Radan:

⁵ Drugi naziv za kaznionicu koja je služila kao sabirno mjesto u okviru sustava Gospić Jadovno-Pag.

back of the line we were pushed onwards by armed Ustacha. Some of those Ustacha were newly recruited young farmers, they could barely handle their rifles, but they already knew how to point them at us, how to steal or rape deported women. The first rapes occurred up on Velebit, around the spot where hotel 'Velebno' stands today. Prisoner Ernst Brajner, a friend of mine from Zagreb who had arrived after us, later told us that, as they crossed Velebit, around Oštarije, on the inland side of the mountain, the Ustacha raped his sixteen-year-old daughter right in front of his eyes."

The fate of women and children was especially cruel. In July, as he took his leave on the island of Pag, a member of the Croatian Home Guard, Vidas Radomir, who unaware of the circumstances, joined the wretched transport truck, witnessed it for himself. He gave his account of the events, on Pag, in 1945:

"Their journey was horrible. There were about eighty of them. There was crying throughout the journey. Two women had babies that were several months old. One of them kept crying and saying: 'Oh, my innocent child, what could you have done to deserve this?' She was inconsolable. The other woman kept uncovering and kissing her baby's face, all the while crying.

„Dopao sam u grupu određenu za SLANU. Vezani smo dvojica po dvojica žicom, a onda je među nas od kraja na kraj kolone potegnut lanac za kojeg smo pričvršćeni. Kretali smo pješice u pravcu Karlobaga, preko Velebita po staroj cesti. Ona je bila duga četrdesetak kilometara. Sprijeda i straga kolone gonili su nas naoružani ustaše. Neki od tih ustaša bili su tek mobilizirani mladi seljaci, jedva su znali rukovati puškom, ali su već znali kako se puška drži uperena na nas, kako se otima ili kako se siluju deportirke. Prva silovanja bila su već na Velebitu, po prilici ondje gdje je danas hotel 'Velebno'. Kasnije nam je pričao zatočenik Ernst Brajner, moj prijatelj iz Zagreba koji je stigao za nama, da su ustaše na prelazu preko Velebita, kod Oštarija, pred njegovim očima silovali njegovu šesnaestogodišnju kćerku.“

Sudbina žena i djece bila je posebno okrutna. U to se u sedmom mjesecu, pri odlasku na odsustvo na Pag, uvjerio domobran Vidas Radomir koji se, ne znajući za okolnosti, pridružio nesretnom transportu kamionom. O tome je 1945. svjedočio na Pagu:

“Njihov put je bio očajan. Bilo ih je oko osamdeset. Plač se čuo cijelim putem. Dvije žene imale su djecu od nekoliko mjeseci. Jedna je stalno plakala i jecajući govorila: 'Oh, dijete moje nevino, što si ti kome skrivilo?'

They consoled each other, in tears and miserable. They fainted from fatigue. They asked if the truck could be stopped for a little while so they could stretch their legs, but they did not allow it. The Ustacha just laughed and kept on singing. Seeing the sea and Pag, they asked me: 'Oh, what are they going to do with us?' I thought, so I told them so, that they would most likely be building a road. Looking at the sea, they took comfort in the fact that they would soon get out of the wretched truck. In Karlobag, the truck pulled up on the waterfront, where a boat was already waiting for the victims." In Karlobag, the triage of the prisoners was done by Maks Luburić, who took over from Mijo Babić after he was killed. Jože Balaž recalled his anger:

"Before we were boarded onto boats, Maks Luburić, who was in charge of all concentration camps, came over and started separating the Jews, Serbs and 'Catholics'. When he saw several of us 'Catholics', Luburić became incredibly angry, shouting that we were Communists and that we would all be shot." But, to the misfortune of the ethnicity to which they belonged, they were all destined for either the moon-like surface of the rocky valley between the coves of Suha and Baška Slana, or locations in the village of Metajna. Many of them never even made it to the camp.

Nikako se nije mogla utješiti. Druga je otkrivala lice djeteta i ljubila ga plačući. Zaplakane, bijedne, tješile su jedne druge. Padale su od umora u nesvijest. Molile su da se malo zaustavi kamion, kako bi mogle malo da se razmjestite, ali nisu im udovoljili. Ustaše su se smijali i dalje pjevali. Ugledavši more i Pag, pitale su me: 'Oh, što će s nama?' Ja sam mislio, pa sam im tako i rekao, da će sigurno raditi cestu. Kad su ugledali more, tješili su se time, da će se brzo riješiti nesretnog kamiona. U Karlobagu je kamion otišao na rivu, gdje je već na žrtve čekao brod."

U Karlobagu je trijažu uhapšenih vršio Maks Luburić, koji je naslijedio Miju Babića nakon pogibije. Sjećao se Jože Balaž njegova bijesa: "Prije nego što smo ukrcani u čamce, došao je Maks Luburić koji je zapo-



The concentration camp in Slana was run by Ivan Devčić Pivac, another Ustacha emigree who had returned to Croatia, while the sites of killing and rape in Metajna were run by Ustacha Maks Očić. The residents on the island were strictly prohibited from any contact or extending any solidary gestures. The camp became operational on 24th June, 1941⁶ with the arrival of the first prisoners – members of Jewish organizations and associations. Two camps were created in Slana, the Jewish and the Serbian, of which Radan gave an account: “There were two concentration camps in Slana. The camp for us, Jews, was located towards the cove of Baška Slana, that is, on the northern side. Towards the cove of Suha, in the rocky valley, there was the Serbian camp. That one was more spacious than ours and there were always more prisoners there. In my estimation, there were regularly between 700 and 750 prisoners in the Serbian camp. Between our two camps, there was an open space, sort of like a training ground. Ustacha were mostly young people so that is where they had their military training.” “The Serbs arrived in Slana after us. That is when we regularly started hearing gunfire at night.” The first female prisoners arrived

⁶ Researcher Đuro Zatezalo chose this date as the Date of Remembrance of the victims of Jadovno concentration camp, today commemorated with official activities.

vijedao svim logorima i počeo odvajati Židove, Srbe i 'Katolike'. Kada je vidio nas nekoliko 'Katolika', Luburić se strahovito razbjesnio i vikao da smo komunisti i da će nas sve postreljati.”

No sve su njih, na nesreću roda kojem su pripadali, čekale bilo mjesечеva površina kamenog udola na potezu između uvale Suha i Baška Slana bilo lokacije u selu Metajna. Mnogi nisu ni stigli do logora. Logorom u Slani upravljao je Ivan Devčić Pivac, također ustaša iz emigracije, a mjestima silovanja i ubijanja u Metajni ustaša Maks Očić. Mještanima su svaka komunikacija, kao i solidarna gesta bile najstrože zabranjene. Početak logorskog funkcioniranja datiran je na 24. juna 1941. godine⁶, kada su pristigli prvi zatočeniци, pripadnici židovskih organizacija i udruženja. Nastala su dva logora na Slani, židovski i srpski, o čemu svjedoči Radan:

„U Slani su bila dva logora. Do Baške Slane, dakle sa sjevernije strane, bili smo mi, židovski logor. Prema Suhoj, u kamenoj kotlini, bio je srpski logor. Taj je logor bio prostraniji od našeg i uvijek po broju veći. Po mojem sudu, moglo je u srpskom logoru redovito biti oko 700 do 750 ljudi. Između ta naša dva logora bio je prostor, kao vježbalište. Ustaše

6 Navedeni je datum istraživač Đuro Zatezalo označio Danom sjećanja na žrtve logora Jadovno 1941., povodom kojeg se održavaju komemorativne aktivnosti.

on the same day or a few days later to Metajna. They were four Jewish women who insisted on accompanying their husbands who had been arrested. They were transferred from Karlobag in motor sailboats.⁷ The violence began with the fact that they boarded too many prisoners onto the boat and crammed them together below deck. This occurred in front of anyone who may have been by the waterfront docking area at that moment. This is the account of Joža Balaž, who was interned in the Serbian camp for being a Communist:

“The Jews and Serbs were thus boarded onto boats, each group separately, just as us ‘Catholics’ and each boat sailed in a different direction, yet all of them were heading to Pag. We arrived to Pag and came out of the boat at a place where there were two larger barracks. These were in fact shelters, sturdily built but without side walls. In the distance there were several other barracks and the area around them was fenced off with a tall fence made of three rows of barbed wire, 10 centimetres apart and big coils of barbed wire, the so-called wire drums, placed between them. People said there were 500 of us in that place, but the food rations for the

7 Dr. Oto Radan is precise in his account to Ante Zemljarić: “We arrived in Slana, that is Baška Slana, by motor sailboat called “St. Joseph” on 24th June 1941. There were 30 of us Jews, all in the age of 20 to 25.”

su uglavnom bili mladi ljudi pa su ih ovdje obučavali vojnim disciplinama.“ „Srbi su na SLANU stigli poslije nas. Tada se po noći redovno čulo mitraljiranje.“

Prve zatočenice također su pristigle istog dana ili koji dan kasnije u Metajnu. Bile su to četiri Židovke koje su inzistirale na tome da krenu na put s uhapšenim muževima.

Iz Karlobaga motornim trabakulima prebacivani su na otok.⁷ Nasilje je započelo već ukrcavanjem prevelikog broja zatočenih u utrobu broda. Odvijalo se naočigled svih koji su se mogli zateći na rivi. Evo kako je dolazak u Slanu doživio Joža Baláž, koji je kao komunist smješten u srpski logor:

“Tako su Židove i Srbe ukrcali u čamce, svaku grupu posebno, kao i nas 'Katolike', i svaki je čamac otplovio u drugom pravcu, ali svi prema Pagu. Stigli smo na Pag i iskrcani smo na jedno mjesto gdje su se nalazile dvije barake većeg razmjera. To su zapravo bile nastrešnice čvrsto građene, ali bez bočnih zidova. U daljini su se nazirale još neke barake i prostor oko njih je bio oivičen visokim plotom bodljikave žice u razmaku od 10 cm, a između tri reda takvog plota nalazili su se

7 Dr. Oto Radan precizno navodi u svome kazivanju Anti Zemljaru: “U Slanu, to jest Bašku Slanu, stigli smo motornim jedrenjakom “Sv. Josip” 24. juna 1941. god. Bilo nas je 30 Židova, svi od 20 do 25 godina starosti.”

entire day consisted of 20 kg of potatoes and 10 kg of flour. They would boil unpeeled potatoes and then pour flour mixed with water on top of them. This white, watery, mushy and disgusting food was our entire meal for the day, which caused most of the people to get sick with dysentery. Our group from Daruvar was put among the Jewish people we did not know, who were all merchants, and they could not handle this sort of diet and the terrible hunger. Above the barracks, practically right over our heads, there was a pit – a latrine into which buckets that were always full of faeces were poured; but not everyone made it to the bucket or the latrine because you cannot wait in line when you have bloody diarrhoea. People were smeared with faeces, with swarms of flies gathering on their skin, and everywhere else, and there was a horrible stench coming from all sides, particularly from under the sheltering.”

He proceeds to recount the conditions in which the youngest prisoners of the first Ustacha concentrations camps in NDH lived and died: “Over by the place where everyone had to go to bathe, the Jewish children would bring out scraps from the Ustacha kitchen to throw out into the sea. When they poured the scraps, they would lunge at them, catching the bits with their tiny hands, gulping them down. The

smotkovi bodljikave žice, tzv. bubnjevi. Pričalo se da nas na ovom mjestu ima 500, a cjelodnevno sledovanje hrane je bilo 20 kg krompira i 10 kg brašna. Neoljušteni krompir stavljen je kuhati i na njega je naliveno razmućeno sirovo brašno i ta bijela, vodena, kašasta i odvratna hrana bila je cjelodnevni obrok, od čega se većina ljudi razbolila od dezinterije. Ta naša grupa Daruvarčana bila je ovdje smještena među nepoznate Jevreje, same trgovce, koji nisu mogli podnijeti takovo jelo i strašnu glad. Poviše baraka, tako reći iznad glava, nalazila se jama – latrine u koju su se izljevale vječno pune kible fekalija; no nisu svi ni stigli na kiblu ili do latrine jer krvavi proljev ne dopušta čekanje na red. Ljudi su bili zamazani od fekalija i na njima, kao i svagdje okolo, sakupljali su se rojevi muha i zaudarao



leftover watermelon rings were a big treat for them. I still see that scene in my mind and it makes me sick. We were tremendously hungry ourselves, but we had our consciousness and pride, which the poor children could not have had. The Ustacha thought it was a splendid sight, so they took photographs of it as a keepsake.”

We learn from the book “Pavelić” written by Šime Balen⁸ and the account of a young Ustacha, Joso Orešković, how Luburić conducted the initiations of the younger and more inexperienced members of the Ustacha movement, into the level of brutality they surely never knew before, to which the young Ustacha at first tried to resist saying he was willing to go to war, but was not willing to abuse civilians:

“I told him I was ready to give my life for Poglavnik any time, that I think I could kill the enemy in combat, but that I could not kill unarmed people like that, especially not women and children. He laughed at that and said that this was combat too and that Serbs, Jews and Communists were beasts and not people and that it was our duty to cleanse Croatia of this plague, and whoever did not want to do so was the enemy of Poglavnik and Croatia, just like them. Then he called over one of the

8 Balen, Šime. *Pavelić*. (1952). Društvo novinara Hrvatske.

je nenasnosan smrad koji se širio u sve strane, a napose pod krovom nadstrešnice.”

I potom nastavlja o uvjetima u kojima su živjeli i umirali najmlađi zatočeniци prvih ustaških logora u NDH-u: *“Tamo, kuda smo se svi morali ići kupati, židovska djeca su donosila otpatke iz ustaške kuhinje da izliju u more. Kada su to izlili, tada su se na te otpatke bacili i hvatali taj otpad u ručice i gutali. Oglodane kore od lubenica bile su za njih neopisiva poslastica. I danas taj prizor imam pred očima, pa osjećam muku. I mi smo bili beskrajno gladni, ali smo imali svijest i ponos, što jedna djeca nisu mogla imati. To je za ustaše bio bajan prizor, tako da su te događaje slikali sebi za uspomenu.”*

Iz knjige “Pavelić” Šime Balena⁸ doznajemo iz svjedočenja mladog ustaše Jose Oreškovića kako je izgledala Luburićeva inicijacija mlađih ili neiskusnijih pripadnika ustaškog pokreta u brutalnost kakvu do tada zasigurno nisu poznavali, a kojoj se isprva mladi ustaša pokušao suprotstaviti tvrdnjom da je spreman ratovati, ali ne i zlostavljati civile:

“Rekao sam mu da sam spreman u svako doba dati život za Poglavnika, da mislim da bih mogao ubiti neprijatelja u borbi, ali da ne mogu ubi-

8 Balen, Šime. *Pavelić*. (1952). Društvo novinara Hrvatske.

men in his entourage and whispered something to him. The man left and brought back two Jewish two-year-old children. Luburić handed me one of the children and told me to slaughter it. I said I could not. Then everyone around me burst into laughter, mocking me and shouting – This Ustacha shit his pants! Luburić then took out his knife and slaughtered the baby in front of me saying: ‘there, this is how it is done.’ When the baby screamed and the blood squirted around, everything around me started spinning. I almost fell down. One of the Ustacha held me up. When I regained my wits, Luburić told me to raise my right foot. I raised it and he put that other baby underneath it. Then he commanded: ‘Stomp it!’ I stomped my foot and crushed the baby’s head. Luburić came closer, patted me on the shoulder and said: ‘Bravo! You’ll be a fine Ustacha yet!’

That is how I killed my first baby – Orešković ends his macabre account. After that I got drunk as a fish. While I was drinking, I raped some Jewish girls together with my fellow soldiers, and then we killed them. Afterwards I did not even need to drink anymore. Later, when Slano was liquidated and all of its prisoners were killed, I was sent to the Korenica area for the cleansing of Serbs. You already know what I did there.”

jati ovako goloruke ljude, a osobito žene i djecu. On se na to nasmijao i rekao da je i ovo borba i da Srbi, Židovi i komunisti nisu ljudi, nego zvjerad i da je naša dužnost da očistimo Hrvatsku od te kuge, a tko to neće, da je neprijatelj Poglavnika i Hrvatske, kao i oni. Na to je pozvao jednog iz svoje pratnje i nešto mu šapnuo. Ovaj je otišao i donio dvoje male dvogodišnje židovske djece. Luburić mi je predao jedno dijete i rekao mi da ga zakoljem. Odgovorio sam da ne mogu. Nato su svi oko mene prasnuli u smijeh, rugali mi se i vikali – usraša, a ne ustaša. Onda je Luburić izvadio nož i zaklao preda mnom dijete govoreći: 'Evo, ovako se radi.' Kad je dijete vrisnulo i prsnula krv, oko mene se sve zavrtjelo. Skoro sam pao. Jedan me ustaša prihvatio. Kad sam se malo pribrao, rekao mi je Luburić da dignem desnu nogu. Dignao sam, a on mi je pod nogu stavio ono drugo dijete. Onda je zapovijedio: 'Udri!' Udario sam nogom i zgnječio glavu djetetu. Luburić mu je prišao, potapšao me po ramenu i rekao: 'Bravo!' Bit ćeš ti još dobar ustaša!'

Tako sam – završio je svoj jezoviti iskaz Orešković – ubio prvo dijete. Nakon toga sam se opio do smrti. U pijanstvu sam zajedno sa drugovima silovao neke židovske devojkice, a onda smo ih poubijali. Poslije se nisam trebao ni opijati. Kasnije, kad je Slano likvidirano i svi njegovi zato-

The abuse and the conditions in the cove of Slana in the Jewish and Serbian concentration camps were recounted by Dr. Oto Radan, whom Zemljar first interviewed on 23rd April, 1975 in Zagreb, and then for the sake of verifying the account, again spoke to him several days later in Konjuščina. In January 1986, he supplemented these interviews with a magnetic tape recording:

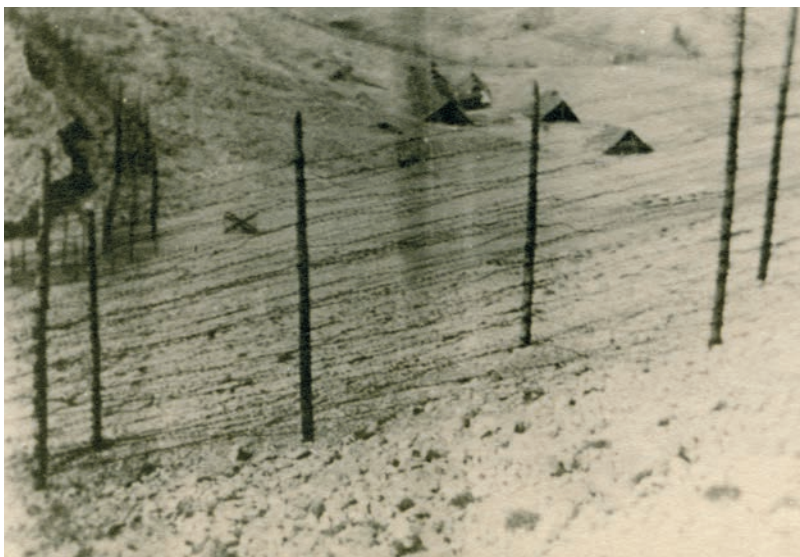
“From our Jewish camp, just by arbitrarily shooting, the guards shot about 50 to 70 people, while they were working, in passing, because the prisoners ‘challenged’ them or they were a ‘threat’, or simply as an example to others. While we were being guarded by some men wearing fezzes, they killed Ernest Brajner out of the blue, simply playing with their rifle and pointing it at him, as it was lying in their lap.”

When they took one of our groups to work, there was always a guard or two accompanying us. When we, for instance, carried rocks, a guard would sit nearby. I remember one of them called Mandekić. He would usually sit down, put his rifle in his lap, balance it on his knee and point it at one of us. He would play with it and then pull the trigger. Sometimes he shot close to our heads, on purpose, just for fun. And then he would probably get bored of that and would aim at our heads. He would kill a man and remain completely unfazed. He did not let us go over

čenici pobijeni, poslan sam u kotar Korenicu na čišćenje Srba. Što sam tu radio, znate.”

O zlostavljanjima i uvjetima u uvali Slana u židovskom i u srpskom logoru govorio je dr. Oto Radan, s kojim je Zemljar razgovorao najprije 23. aprila 1975. u Zagrebu te, radi provjere zapisanog, nekoliko dana kasnije u Konjušćini. U januaru 1986. te je razgovore dopunio snimajući ih na magnetofonskoj traci:

„Iz našeg, židovskog logora, samo pojedinačno, proizvoljnim pucaњem stražara, ubili su oko 50 do 70 ljudi, na radu, u prolazu, pri 'izazovu' i 'prijetnji' od strane logoraša ili naprosto egzemplarnom kaznom. Ernesta Brajnera – za vrijeme dok su stražari bili neki s fesovima – ubili su na blagu miru, naprosto igrajući



to whoever was killed either.”

“The Serbian camp was the most horrifying thing you could describe or imagine. None of the Serbs of any age were allowed to stand up straight. They had to squat so the guards could kick them in the head. Here in the camp, these were mostly people from Lika, peasants, old men, boys, the ones who did not manage to escape from the Ustača. They were exhausted even before they arrived, feeble, beaten or old, helpless to begin with. Some were handicapped. Judging by their clothes, they were for the most part poor country people.”

One of the key witnesses of the rapes and other Ustača atrocities against the prisoners to the northeast of Slana, in the village of Metajna, was Nada Feuereisen, who gave her account of what she had experienced and seen to Captain Katalinić at the Partisan base in Italy in 1945. She was arrested on 9th July, 1941, and Pag was just one in a long line of her destinations within the network of NDH concentration camps. Along her war journey, she lost her daughter and her husband.

“After we arrived, groups of Serbian women started arriving as well. Among them, I knew Mrs Milinov, judge Banjanin’s wife, their daughter and mother-in-law. In the group of Serbian women, there was

se puškom prema njemu, s koljena.“
„Kad bi neku našu skupinu vodili na rad, uvijek je s nama bio stražar ili dvojica njih. Kad smo na primjer nosili kamenje, stražar je nedaleko od nas sjedio. Sjećam se jednoga koji se zvao Mandekić. On je obično sjeo, pušku metnuo na krilo, na koljeno i uperio je na nekoga od nas. Igrao se s njom i onda bi okinuo. Ponekad je hotimično pucao pored glave, iz zabave. A onda bi mu valjda dosadila zabava i nanišanio bi u glavu. Ubio bi čovjeka i ne bi se maknuo s mjesta. Niti je dao da priskočimo ubijenom.“

„Logor Srba bio je nešto najužasnije što se može spomenuti i čemu se može domisliti. Nijedan Srbin u bilo kojoj svojoj dobi nije smio stajati uspravno. Morao je čučati da bi ga



a young clerk from the post office called Sonja (I do not know her surname). One night the Ustacha took her out, raped her, and after they all took turns, killed her and threw her into the sea. The next evening, the same Ustacha came in and took the young Banjanin girl, but she excused herself, saying she could not be of service to them because she was menstruating. But since they did not believe her, they examined her and after realizing she was telling the truth, let her stay with her mother, but she remained under obligation to fulfil her duty on Saturday night. I do not know what happened to the Banjanin girl, because we were separated from the Serbian women before Saturday and transferred to Slana.”

Completely unexpectedly, however, in line with the post-war period, the controversial diocesan priest, don Felicinović, wrote about the rapes in his memoirs:

“I found a piece of cardboard on the wall of the main Ustacha barrack, with the record of the names and dates of women and girls raped at the camp and by which Ustacha.” After the Srb Uprising on 27th July 1941, Italian fascists realized the consequences of the Ustacha genocidal campaign, which they were naturally aware of. The people, who had been persecuted

stražar mogao udariti nogom u glavu. Ovdje u logoru bili su uglavnom lički seljaci, starci, dječaci, ono što ustašama nije stiglo izmaći bijegom. Bili su iznureni već i kod dolaska u logor, preslabljeni, prebijeni ili stari, nemoćni po sebi. Bilo je nepokretnih. Sudeći po odjeći, najvećim dijelom to je bila sirotinja.“

Jedna od ključnih svjedokinja silovanja i drugih ustaških zverstava nad zatočenicama sjeverozapadno od Slane, u selu Metajna, bila je Nada Feuereisen, koja je svoj izvještaj o proživljenom i viđenom dala kapetanu Kataliniću u partizanskoj bazi u Italiji 1945. Uhapšena je 9. jula 1941. godine i Pag je bio samo jedna u nizu destinacija u mreži koncentracijskih logora u NDH-u. Tokom svog ratnog puta ostala je bez kćerke i supruga.

“Nakon našeg odlaska počele su stizati i grupe Srpkinja. Među njima poznala sam gđu Milinov, st. suprugu Banjanina, suca, kćerku i punicu. U grupi Srpkinja bila je jedna mlada činovnica sa pošte imenom Sonja (prezime ne znam). Sonju su jednu večer ustaše izveli, silovali je i, nakon što će se svi ustaše izredati, ubili je i bacili u more. Druga večer isti ustaše došli su uzeti i malu curicu Banjanin, no ona se izgovarala, da ih ne može poslužiti jer je imala menstruaciju. No pošto joj nisu vjerovali, izvršili su pregled i nakon što su ustanovili da



and abused, following the organized crimes committed against civilians in Lika and after rumours started spreading about the pits on the Velebit mountain, began to realize the danger they were in and decided to put up a resistance, for the most part organized by seasoned Spanish Civil War fighters and Communists. That is precisely why the Italians re-occupied Zone B, and the island of Pag within it. The Ustacha transferred the production of death from the Gospić-Jadovno-Pag system in roughly the same format to the area of Jasenovac. Its first prisoners and builders of the barracks on the location of Krapje (near Jasenovac) were the men who were returned from Slana. The women from Slana were trans-

je govorila istinu, pustili su je pored majke, no s tim da je ostala u obavezi da u subotu u noć mora izvršiti svoju obavezu. O svršetku male Banjanin nije mi više poznato, jer smo mi prije subote bile odvojene od Srba i prebačene u Slanu.”

Posve neočekivano, ali u skladu sa poratnim periodom, o silovanjima je u svojim memoarima pisao kontroverzni don Joso Felicinović:

“U glavnoj ustaškoj baraci našao sam na zidu komadić kartona na kojemu se vodila evidencija s imenima i datumima žena i djevojaka silovanih u logoru i od kojeg ustaše.”

Po izbijanju ustanka u Srbu, 27. jula 1941., talijanski fašisti uviđaju posljedice ustaške genocidne kampanje, u koju su, dakako, bili upućeni. Progonjeni i zlostavljani narod, nakon organiziranih zločina nad civilima u Lici i nakon što su prve glasine o velebitskim jamama počele pri- stizati, shvaća opasnost u kojoj se nalazi i odlučuje se na otpor koji u najvećoj mjeri organiziraju prekalje- ni španski borci i komunisti. Upravo zbog toga, Talijani reokupiraju Zonu B, a unutar nje i otok Pag. Manu- fakturnu proizvodnju smrti susta- va Gospić-Jadovno-Pag ustaše u manje-više sličnom sastavu sele na područje Jasenovca. Njegovi su prvi zatočnici i graditelji baraka na lokaciji Krapje ujedno i muškarci koji su vraćeni iz Slane. Žene su iz Sla- ne premještane na druge lokacije

ferred to other locations, such as Slavonski Brod and, later, to the concentration camps of the Third Reich.

Oto Radan recalled the last generation from Slana, that is, the first generation of Jasenovac prisoners: “There were two brothers named Armut, of about 20 to 25 years of age, here with us. They were probably technically trained. (Their father had a shoe paste production business in Zagreb, somewhere in the lower part of Ilica Street). They coordinated all the construction work, of the watchtower, the road and the administrative building.

A work group was formed around them and it operated under their



poput Slavenskog Broda, a kasnije i u logore Trećeg Reicha.

Prisjećao se Oto Radan zadnje generacije Slane, odnosno prve generacije jasenovačkih zatočenika: „Bila su s nama dva brata Armut, i oni su imali oko 20 do 25 godina, vjerojatno su bili tehničari. (Njihov je otac imao neku proizvodnju paste za cipele u Zagrebu, negdje u donjem kraju Illice). Oni su upravljali svakom stručnijom izgradnjom, karaula, ceste, upravne zgrade. Oko njih bila je formirana jedna radna grupa koja je radila pod njihovim stručnim vodstvom. Ta je grupa ovdje gotovo sva preživjela i ona je poslana put Jasenovca. Tamo su tek na kraju postojanja Jasenovca svi pobijeni, osim Bergera koji je pobjegao u proboku logoraša iz Jasenovca dana 22. VI 1945. Berger se živ vratio u Zagreb.“

Okružna komisija za Liku zabilježila je ukupno oko 400 preživjelih zatočenika Slane i Jadovna, što se uklapa u procjenu Ota Radana da je iz Slane vraćeno maksimalno 250 osoba. Među njima je bio i Zlatko Vajler:

“Tako da su 21. ili 22. augusta, ne znam tačno, uglavnom nâs ukrkali i prebacili na Karlobag, gdje su nas bili prvi put ukrkali za Slanu. Pre toga opet je bio došao Luburić i opet nam održao govor, iz kojeg govora se moglo doći do ubedenja kao da idemo kući... Nas su opet

expert leadership. Almost everyone from that group survived here, so they were sent to Jasenovac. All of them were killed in the final days of Jasenovac, except for Berger who escaped in the prisoners' breach from Jasenovac, on 22nd June, 1945. Berger returned to Zagreb alive."

The district commission for Lika recorded a total of about 400 surviving prisoners from Slana and Jadovno, which aligns with Oto Radan's estimate that at most 250 people were returned from Slana. Zlatko Vajler was one of them:

"So on 21st or 22nd August, I can't recall exactly, but they boarded us and transferred us to Karlobag, where they had first dropped us off on our way to Slana. Before that, Luburić again came to see us and gave a speech, in which he led us to believe we would be going home... They again boarded us on the train and we headed out; after a day, we reached Zagreb, but did not stop there and simply continued onwards, and then they dropped us off... that was on 23rd, 24th August... near the village of Krapje, that is about ten to twelve kilometres from Jasenovac... They had already prepared some sort of camp there... At that point, Jasenovac did not exist yet, except as a private estate; before the war it was owned by a man called Bešić

u Gospiću bili ukrcali u vagone i onda smo krenuli; nakon jednog dana došli smo do Zagreba, nismo se zaustavili u njemu, nego smo produžili dalje i onda su nas iskrkali bili... to je 23, 24. VIII... kod sela Krapje, to je desetak, dvanaest kilometara od Jasenovca... Tamo su već bili isto pripremili neki logor... nismo se nigdje po putu zadržali... ta putešestvija od Gospića je trajala oko dva dana... Jasenovac u to vrijeme još nije postojao, osim kao privatna ekonomija; vlasnik je pre rata bio neki Bešić ili sada ne znam tko... imali su kožaru, lančaru, ekonomiju; to su oni bili oduzeli tome pravoslavcu i... dakle mi smo došli bili u Krapje oko 24, 25. augusta i sada smo počeli rad u šumi, rad na nasipu, tamo oko obrađivanja Lonjskog polja, tu su nas počeli strašno mlatiti i išli smo na rad... desetak se nikada nije vratilo, u početku... a poslije i stotinjak... i tako u tom Krapju sam bio do oko sredine septembra kada je počeo da se formira jasenovački logor.”

Iza Ivana Devčića Pivca, Maksa Očića, Maksa Luburića i sličnih ostali su plitko zakopani leševi, vidljivi znakovi prisilnog rada, zlostavljanja i tegobe paških zatočenika te razbacane legitimacije i druge sitnice koje su ustaše smatrali bezvrijednima, a svjedočile su o ljudima čije je mjesto smrti postala uvala mjesečeve površine i Jadransko

or something like that... they had a leather tanning business, a pottery making business, etc.; they took all of that from this man who was a Greek Orthodox and... So we arrived in Krapje around 24th, 25th August and then started working in the woods, on the dike, on working the land at Lonjsko Polje. This is when they started ferociously beating us, as we were going out to work... ten people never came back, in the beginning... later, it was a hundred... so I stayed in Krapje until mid-September, when the Jasenovac camp started to take shape.”

Ivan Devčić Pivac, Maks Očić, Maks Luburić and the like left behind shallow graves, visible signs of forced labour, abuse and hardship of the prisoners on Pag, along with scattered identification documents and other trinkets, which the Ustacha considered worthless, but which are a testament to the people whose place of death became a cove of a moon-like surface and the Adriatic Sea. In his account, Pavle Lovrić from Crikvenica (1946), a machinist on the boat that transported the sanitation squad of the Italian army, among other things, commented on the burning of corpses in Slana:

“On one of the male corpses, whose name I do not recall anymore, in his

more. Iz svjedočenja Pavla Lovrića iz Crikvenice (1946.), broskog motoriste na brodu koji je prevezio sanitetsku grupu talijanskih vojnika, o spaljivanju leševa u Slani:

„Kod jednog muškog leša, kome se više ne sjećam imena, nađen je u džepu jedan crveni papir kao opć. poziv, nekoliko dana ranije izdan od općine Gospić, da isti dođe u općinu zajedno sa svojim sinom zbog upisa u školu. Kod jednog isto muškog lješa, nađena je legitimacija na ime inženjera Brkljačić Ivana, rkt. na službi u Karlovcu kod drž. željeznice, inženjer.“

„Jedan pak žalosni lješ majke vezan sa četvero djece; vidio sam kako je jedno dijete od muke zubima uhvatilo majku iznad koljena za debelo meso i, onako se držeći, ostalo uz mater mrtvo.“

Nakon sanitarnog uklanjanja posmrtnih ostataka, ostali su tragovi prisilnog rada zatočenih u vidu kamene gradnje, dijela karaula, nedograđene upravne zgrade, improvizirane obale s bitvama, nešto suhozida uz nekadašnje objekte, kontura puteljaka koji su vodili do karaula, tucanika, posutog po širini logorskog prostora, pokoje rupe u kamenu od nekadašnjih stupova i raskopane trašeje grobnica na Furnaži. Na južnoj, visokoj litici uvale Suha postavljeno je obilježje u obliku ploče s natpisom:

pocket they found a red piece of paper which was a call from the municipality, issued a few days before in Gospić, to come to the municipal office together with his son in order to enrol him in school. On another male corpse they found the identification papers to the name of engineer Brkljačić Ivan, Roman Catholic, in employment with the state railroad and stationed in Karlovac, engineer.”

“There was another sad corpse, of a mother tied together with her four children; I saw that, in horror, one of the children had bitten into his mother’s thigh above the knee, and holding on to her, died alongside her.”

After the sanitational removal of posthumous remains, there still remained traces of forced labour in the form of stone structures, parts of watchtowers, add-ons to the administration building, improvised embankments with bollards, some remains of dry stone walls next to former buildings, contours of paths leading to the watchtowers, gravel scattered throughout the site, a few holes in the rock from former posts and dug out open holes of the graves at Furnaža. On the southern, steep cliff of the Slana cove, a commemorative plaque was placed with the following words:

SLAVA ŽRTVAMA FAŠIZMA

1941. GODINE. KONCEM SVIBNJA

OSNOVAN JE OVDJE LOGOR SMRTI

S L A N A.

U STRAŠNOM TRAJANJU

OD NEPUNA TRI MJESECA TISUĆE NEDUŽNIH LJUDI –

SRBA, JEVREJA, HRVATA I DRUGIH

NAŠLO JE SMRT U KANDŽAMA

FAŠISTIČKIH ZVIJERI NA KOPNU I MORU.

SMRT FAŽIZMU –

SLOBODA NARODU!

Povodom 30. godišnjice pobjede
nad fašizmom i oslobođenja zemlje,

NAROD OTOKA PAGA

7. RUJNA 1975. GODINE.

Uvala Slana ima status spomenika kulture od 1983. godine. Paški općinski odbor za potrebe je obilježavanja spomen-područja Slana naručio izgradbenu dokumentaciju koja će zahvatiti cijelo područje bivših logora i grobova. Godine 1988. planirana je izgradnja ceste koja će od sela Metajna voditi prema Slani, paralelna cesti koju su golim rukama izgradili logoraši.

Par godina nakon, spomen-obilježje je uništeno. Predstavnici naroda žrtava, židovskog i srpskog, spomen-ploču su obnovili u dva navrata, 2010. i 2013. Oba je puta, nedugo nakon komemoracije i svečanog otvaranja replike, obilježje uništio anonimni počinitelj ili više njih.

GLORY TO THE VICTIMS OF FASCISM
IN LATE MAY OF 1941
A DEATH CAMP WAS FOUNDED HERE
S L A N A.
IN THE TERRIBLE PERIOD OF BARELY
THREE MONTHS THOUSANDS OF INNOCENT PEOPLE –
SERBS, JEWS, CROATS AND OTHERS FOUND
DEATH IN THE CLAWS OF FASCIST
BEASTS ON LAND AND SEA.
DEATH TO FASCISM –
FREEDOM TO THE PEOPLE!

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the victory
over Fascism and the liberation of our country,
THE PEOPLE OF PAG ISLAND
ON 7TH SEPT 1975

The cove of Slana holds the status of a monument of culture since 1983. For the purpose of commemorating the memorial site of Slana, the Pag Municipal Board commissioned the construction plans for a project that would encompass the entire area of the former concentration camps and graves. In 1988, there were plans to construct a road that would lead from the village of Metajna towards Slana, parallel to the one built with their bare hands by the concentration camp prisoners. A couple of years later, the memorial plaque was destroyed. The representatives of the victimized peoples – Jewish and Serbian, restored the memorial plaque on two occasions, in 2010 and 2013. Both times, shortly after the commemorative ceremony and the formal inauguration of the replica, the plaque was destroyed by an unidentified per-

Mjesto Slana ostaje upisano u spomen-obilježje na Jadovnu stihovima koje je Ante Zemljarić posvetio žrtvama:

56

s t e l a

*predani gromačama
ušli smo u svoju noć
u oštrance nebu uzdignute
ako nismo u vašu savjest ušli
uzalud ste došli da nas posjetite*

petrator or perpetrators.

Slana remains inscribed in the memorial plaque at Jadovno with the verses which Ante Zemljar dedicated to the victims:

s t e l a

surrendered to the dry stone walls
we entered into our night
into the craggy rocks rising towards the sky
but if we have not entered your conscience
you have come in vain to visit us



SLANA – A Radical Landscape

Davor Konjikušić, Goran Andlar, Nika Petković

Umjetnici Davor Konjikušić i Nika Petković pozvani su 2017. godine da naprave projekt koji će reagirati na prostor Uvale Slana gdje se od lipnja do kolovoza 1941. godine nalazio ustaški koncentracijski logor.

Rad se sastoji od filma, fotografija, te istraživanja koje je objavljeno u formi 3D rekonstrukcije nekadašnjeg koncentracijskog logora. Istraživanje započinje još 2016. godine s namjerom da se istraže sve posebnosti krajobrazu, a da se kroz umjetnički rad i istraživanje pokuša utjecati na mogućnost njegovog obilježavanja kao prostora traume i sjećanja i to u prostoru koji predstavlja jedinstvenu geografsku i krajobraznu cjelinu i to u širem mediteranskom kontekstu.

Namjera autora je cijeli prostor Slane pretvoriti u prostor komemoracije i sjećanja, te da se na taj način odgovori na konstantne pokušaje brisanja povijesti.

Film 'Uvala', snimljen na području nekadašnjeg logora, razotkriva surovost krajobrazu i njegovu neraskidivu povezanost s povijesnim kontekstom. Metodom reduciranog prikaza umjetnici su pristupili radikalnom krajobrazu koristeći metodu 'pejzažnog filma' u kojem se glavno značenje nalazi upravo u odsustvu.

In 2017, artists Davor Konjikušić and Nika Petković were invited to create a project that would react to the space of Slana Bay which was the site of an Ustacha concentration camp from June until August 1941.

The work consists of a film, photographs, as well as research published in the form of a 3D reconstruction of the former concentration camp. The research began back in 2016, with the intention of exploring all the specificities of this landscape, while at the same time, through artistic work and research, attempting to affect the possibility of its commemoration as a site of trauma and memory in a location that constitutes a unique geographical and landscape unit, within a wider context of the Mediterranean. The authors' intention was to transform the entire space of Slana into a site of commemoration and remembrance in a way that would respond to the constant attempts of historical erasure.

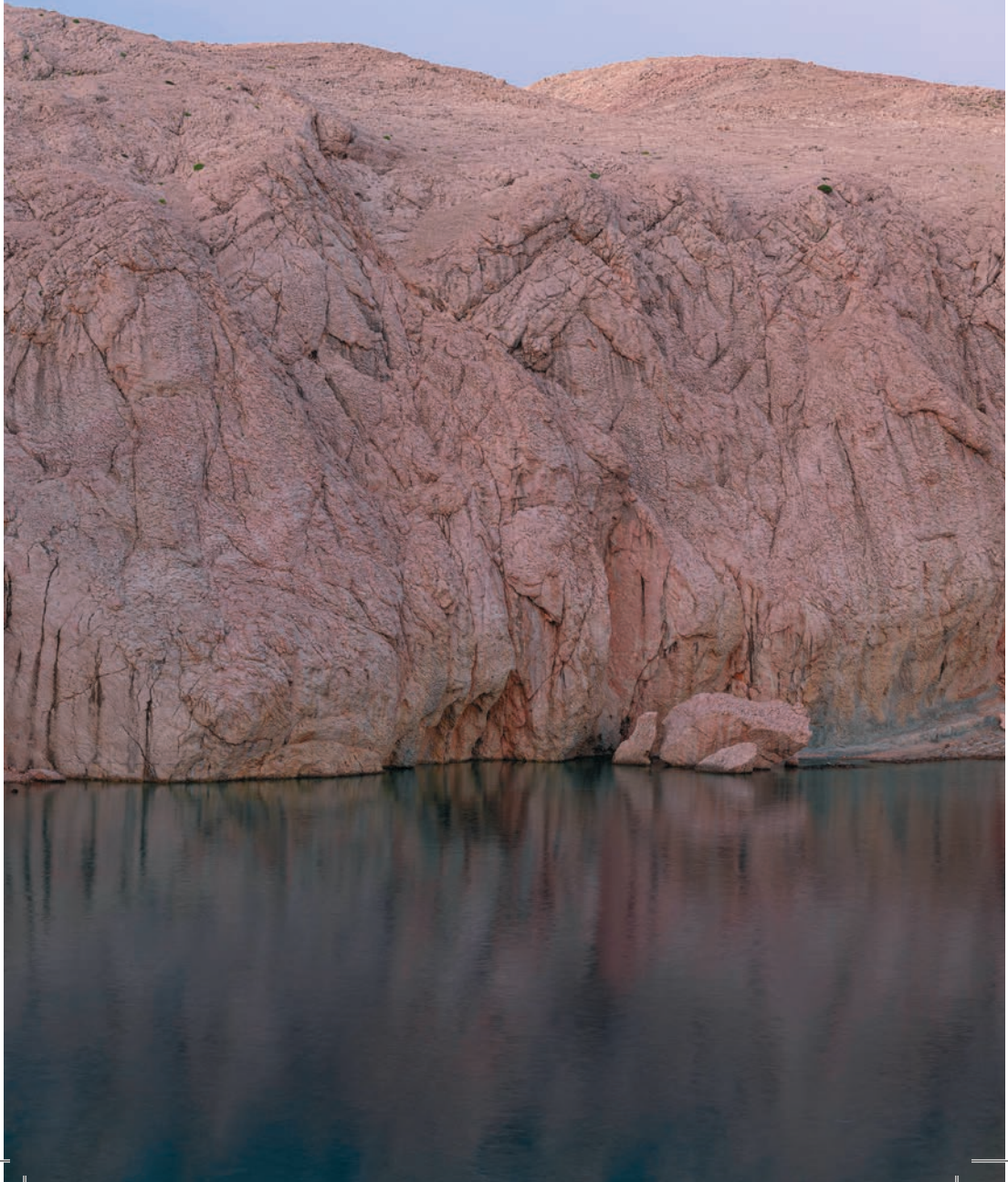
The Cove, the film shot at the site of the former concentration camp, reveals the harshness of the landscape and its inseparable connectedness with the historical context. Employing the method of reductive representation, the artists approached this radical landscape through the technique of 'landscape film,' in which the primary meaning stems precisely from absence.

Umjetničko istraživanje postepeno je poprimilo oblik interdisciplinarnog istraživanja, koje je realizirano u suradnji s krajobraznim arhitektom doc. dr. sc. Goranom Andlarom s Agronomskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, te uz svesrdnu podršku doc. dr. sc. Hrvoja Tomića s Geodetskog fakulteta u Zagrebu i arhitekta Juraja Božića. Terenska istraživanja, izrada ortofoto karte, GIS kartiranja i analize, izrada oblaka točaka i 3D modela, , te arhivsko istraživanje svih dostupnih izvora za rezultat imaju opsežan projekt i prikupljenu građu koja uvelike nadilazi početnu namjeru projekta, ali za cilj ima potaknuti sva buduća istraživanja.

The artistic exploration gradually evolved into an interdisciplinary research, conducted in collaboration with landscape architect Goran Andlar, a professor at the Faculty of Agriculture in Zagreb, with the wholehearted support of Hrvoje Tomić, a professor at the Faculty of Geodesy in Zagreb and architect Juraj Božić. The field research, creation of the orthophotomap, GIS mapping and analysis, creation of a point cloud and 3D model, as well as the archival research of all available sources has resulted in an extensive project and a compendium of materials that far surpasses the initial intent of the project, but the objective of which is to encourage further research.

Kronologija koju autori filma *Uvala* uspostavlja - od sadašnjeg trenutka ka prošlom vremenu, od 2021. ka 1941. godini - uvodi stilsku figuru „hysteron proteron“, postupak koji preokreće konvencionalni redoslijed zbivanja, a u ovom se radu realizira kao presudan politički okvir pri promatranju određene lokacije. Ono što na prvi pogled djeluje kao „prazan“ prostor, kako film odmiče, sve se eksplicitnije, razotkriva kao ništa manje nego mjesto zločina. Drugim riječima, dok film traje, gledatelj kao da se - linearnom vremenskom putanjom - vraća u prošlost, u doba zločina. Ali, na kraju puta – što je ključno - taj linearni vremenski tok razotkriva se kao sredstvo jednog politički daleko emancipiranijeg pristupa vremenu. Taj je pristup zasnovan na vremenskom „kratkom spoju“ ili superimpoziciji: na spoznaji da je zločin (iz prošlosti) zapravo sve vrijeme prisutan (u sadašnjosti), ali je potisnut, „izbrisan iz slike“. Upravo je to brisanje rezultat i simptom današnje dominantne - i problematične - ideološke paradigme.

The chronology which the authors of the film *The Cove* establish – from the contemporary moment towards past time, from 2021 to 1941 – introduces the stylistic figure of “hysteron proteron,” a procedure that reverses the conventional sequence of events, in this work realized as the crucial political framework for observing a particular location. What at first glance appears to be an “empty” space, is, as the film progresses, increasingly explicitly revealed as nothing short of the scene of a crime. In other words, it is as if, during the film – by means of a linear chronology – the viewer returns to the past, or, the time of the crime. However, at the end of the journey – which is key – this linear time flow is revealed as the means of a politically far more emancipated approach to time. This approach is based on a temporal “short circuit” or a superimposition: on the realization that the crime (from the past) is in fact always present (in the current moment), but has been suppressed, “erased from the picture.” It is precisely this erasure that is the result and the symptom of today’s dominant – and problematic – ideological paradigm.





















Film 'Uvala' snimljen je na prostoru Uvale Slana, lokalitetu prvog koncentracijskog logora u NDH. Smješten na otoku Pagu, na području Barbata, ovaj je prostor od antičkih vremena pa sve do danas bio obilježen djelovanjem prirode i čovjeka koji je na koncu i oblikovao radikalni krajobraz Slane - kroz sječū šume, prekomjernu ispašu, uspostavu logora te recentne turističke eksploatacije. Povezivanjem krajobraza i njegovog povijesnog konteksta, ukazujemo na potpunu uvjetovanost ovog prostora čovjekovim djelovanjem. Istovremeno, filmom propitujemo postupak (povijesnog) brisanja i negiranja mjesta zločina, koje se u ljeto 1941. zauvijek upisalo u surovi kameni krajobraz. Putovanjem ka prošlom vremenu, iz sadašnje perspektive, pozivamo na perceptivnu komemoraciju i propitivanje političkog okvira slike u kojoj je odsustvo čovjeka zapravo njegova trajna prisutnost, a prazan prostor mjesto zločina.

The Cove is a film shot in the locale of Slana Bay, which was the site of the first concentration camp in the Independent State of Croatia. Located on the island of Pag, in the Barbat area, since antiquity until the present day, this space has been marked by the activity of nature and human beings, who ultimately shaped the radical landscape of Slana – through logging, excessive grazing, the construction of the concentration camp and, more recently, exploitation for tourism. By connecting the landscape with its historical context, we highlight a complete contingency upon the effect of human beings. Simultaneously, the film examines the procedures of (historical) erasure and negation of a site of crime, which eternally inscribed itself into the rocky landscape in the summer of 1941. By traveling towards the past from today's perspective, we urge for a perceptive commemoration and the re-examination of the political framework of the representation in which the absence of human life in fact signifies its enduring presence, while the empty space alludes to a site of crime.

















The karren* landscape

U sklopu izložbe Slana – radikalni krajobraz, provedena je detaljna analiza krajobraza Slane. Osim što su uspostavljeni temelji za neke buduće detaljne rekonstrukcije prostora logora, namjera je također bila proniknuti u višeslojnost pozadine današnjeg krajobraza - različitih prostornih čimbenika te odnosa čovjeka i prirodnog okoliša i obrnuto. Pristup je pri tome interdisciplinaran na način da sintetizira metodologije više disciplina; povijesti, fotografije, krajobrazne arhitekture, arhitekture i geodezije. Osim uvriježene analize arhivskih materijala i pisanih svjedočanstava, provedene su terenske opservacije i bilježenje, fotografsko mapiranje, snimanje iz aviona i bespilotnom letjelicom, metode daljinskih istraživanja, GIS inventarizacije i analize krajobraza te 3D modeliranje.

Osim antropogenih struktura - ostataka objekata i građenih struktura - zatečenih na prostoru logora, u ovom istraživanju propituje se prvenstveno prirodni kontekst samog prostora. On je ujedno osnovna karika interpretacije; on nije samo pozadina logora, već kompleksan sustav čimbenika - topografije, geologije, geomorfologije, hidrologije i pokrova - čija je specifična kombinacija

uvjetovala pogodnost za smještaj, ⁹² način organizacije, funkcija i građenja logora te izražen *genius loci* mjesta.

Prvenstveno se radi o prirodnom smještaju lokaliteta u širem regionalnom i lokalnom kontekstu te geomorfologiji, geologiji i pokrovu. Treba uzeti u obzir kako je logor Slana bio dio šireg logorskog kompleksa Gospić - Jadovno - Pag. U nužnosti prebacivanja logoraša iz Jadovnog na more, odnosno otok, u primorskom dijelu se kao najlogičnija nameće relacija Karlobag - Slana. Naime tek je 3 km udaljenost od Ličkog primorja preko Velebitskog kanala, odnosno od Karlobaga do Slane. Dobra plovna povezanost s kopnom te pristupačnost uvale bili su nužni za deportaciju logoraša i građevnog materijala. Istovremeno, nedaleko od lokacije logora, također na 3 km udaljenosti, smješteno je naselje Metajna koje je vojnicima služilo za opskrbu i odmor. Nadalje, širi obuhvat logora kojeg čini istočni dio Barbata tj. Furnaža zbog svog poluotočkog karaktera i omeđenosti morem umanjuje mogućnost bijega. I konačno, sam lokalitet Slane smješten u kotlini na spoju Furnaže i ostatka Barbata čini malen, zaklonjen i udubljen prostor - svojevrsnu pozornicu - koji

As part of the exhibition *Slana – A Radical Landscape*, a detailed analysis of the landscape of Slana was conducted. In addition to setting the foundations for possible future detailed reconstructions of the concentration camp site, the intention was also to delve into the multi-layered background of today's landscape – the different spatial factors that influenced it and the mutual relationship between human beings and the natural environment. The approach was interdisciplinary in the sense that it synthesized the methodologies of several disciplines, namely, history, photography, landscape architecture, architecture and geodesy. Apart from the conventional analysis of archival materials and written testimonials, the research included field observation and recording, photographic mapping, aerial and drone photography, remote sensing, GIS inventory and landscape analysis and 3D modelling.

In addition to the anthropogenic structures – i.e., the remnants of objects and built structures found at the site of the concentration camp – this research primarily examines the natural context of the space. This

natural context is also the principal step of interpretation; it is not merely the backdrop of the concentration camp, but a complex system of factors – of topography, geology, geomorphology, hydrology and land surface – the specific combination of which affected the suitability of the location, as well as the organization, function and construction of the concentration camp and a distinctive *genius loci* of the site.

This primarily refers to the natural setting of the locality in a wider regional and local context, as well as its geomorphology, geology and land cover. We should bear in mind that the Slana concentration camp was part of a wider detention complex of Gospić – Jadovno – the island of Pag. Since the internees needed to be transferred from Jadovno, located further inland, to the coast, and onwards, to the island, the route between Karlobag and Slana presented itself and the most logical solution in the coastal section of the trajectory. The distance between the coastal belt of Lika and Pag, across the Velebit Channel, that is, between Karlobag on the coast and Slana, is only three kilometres. Good maritime connections with

se lako nadgleda gotovo sa svih strana. Udubljenje čine dvije suhe doline koje se spajaju u pješčanoj obali Slane, pri čemu je svaka ta suha dolina ujedno i cjelina logora - židovski i srpski logor.

Potpuna ogoljelost usitnjenog, oštrog i neprohodnog vapnenačkog kamena - grohota, zatim odsutnost prirodnog hlada uslijed neprisutnosti vegetacije te škrtost vodom tvore iznimno radikalni krajobraz. Opisani uvjeti nisu samo činili bivanje u prostoru nemogućim - i stražarima i logorašima - već su imali i snažan psihološki efekt na zatvorenike, a što je vjerojatno bilo uračunato od strane organizatora. Upečatljiva, naizgled mirna, ali opet prijeteća slika monotonog, bijelo spaljenog, ogoljelog i pustinjačkog krajobraza, zatim laičkom oku nejasni mjestimični oblici crvenog pijeska koji se slijevaju niz padinu te donose neočekivane i oskudne izvore vode s blatom - dodatno su naglašavali osjećaj straha, neizvjesnosti, dezorijentiranosti i gotovo zemaljske otuđenosti.

Pozadina okolišne povijesti cijelog Barbatskog poluotoka, i općenito ovog dijela otoka Paga, nije tako jednostavna kako se često predstavlja. Na potpunu vegetacijsku ogoljelost te usitnje-

nost površinske strukture kamena 94 svakako su utjecali bura i posolica, međutim treba uzeti u obzir kako je cijeli otok još od predantičkih vremena poznat po stočarstvu. Posebno barbatski dio koji danas i u recentnoj povijesti predstavljao komunalni pašnjak, a na kojem je ispaša puno intenzivnija nego na privatnom. Masivni suhozid, *kunfin*, koji prolazi nad logorom upravo ukazuje na pašnjačku funkciju prostora. Lako se može pretpostaviti kako je stočarstvo ubrzalo nestanak prirodne vegetacije, ali moguće i nekadašnjeg sloja tla, odnosno kako je ogoljelost Paga upravo posljedica kombiniranog djelovanja ljudi i prirode. Jednom uklonjeno tlo i vegetacija s krške podloge teško da se u ovakvim uvjetima može povratiti prirodnim procesima. I sam toponim Barbat prema nekim onomastičarima možda sugerira nekadašnju prisutnost šume. Interesantna su još dva toponima prisutna u prostoru istraživanja; Slana i Furnaža. Furnaža (mlet. *fornase*) označava vapnenicu, japnenicu, klačinu - privremenu suhozidnu građevinu unutar koje se dugotrajnim paljenjem vatre kamen vapnenac pretvara u vapno, a koje se koristilo u gradnji. Vapnenice su upravo često zauzimala lokacije kao što

the mainland and easy access to the bay were necessary for the deportation of internees and construction material. At the same time, the island village of Metajna, located not far from the concentration camp site, also some three kilometres away, served as a source of supplies for the soldiers and their place for relaxation. Furthermore, the peninsular character of the wider perimeter around the camp, comprised of the eastern part of the peninsula of Barbat, that is, the Furnaža plateau, and the fact that it was bound by the sea reduced the possibility of escape. And finally, Slana itself is situated in a basin, in which the Furnaža plain and the rest of the peninsula of Barbat converge in a small, shielded, concave space – an amphitheatre of sorts – which is easily surveilled from all sides. This depression is comprised of two dry valleys that connect on the sandy shore of Slana, whereby either of the two dry valleys also constitutes one of the units of the concentration camp – the Jewish and the Serbian section.

The absolute barrenness of the sharp and impassable decomposed limestone rock – the karren – coupled with the absence of natural shade due of lack of

vegetation and the scarcity of water form an extremely radical landscape. Such conditions not only made being in this space unbearable – for the guards and the internees alike – but they also had a strong psychological effect on the prisoners, a fact that was probably premeditated by the organizers. The striking, seemingly calm, yet still threatening appearance of the monotonous, white-burnt, baren and desert-like landscape, accompanied by occasional formations of red sand flowing down the slopes, bringing an unexpected trickle of water along with them, which would be strange to the uninformed eye – further increased the sense of fear, uncertainty, disorientation and almost otherworldly alienation.

The background of the environmental history of the entire Barbat peninsula, and of this part of the island of Pag in general, is not as straightforward as is often presented. The absolute barrenness in terms of vegetation and the degradation of the superficial structure of the rock were definitely in part caused by the northerly wind *bura* and spindrift, however, it should be taken into account that since before classical antiquity the



entire island has been known for cattle farming. The Barbat section in particular has nowadays and in recent history constituted a communal pasture, where grazing is significantly more intensive than in private pastures. The massive dry stone wall, *kunfin*, which passes above the concentration camp points precisely to the grazing function of the area. It is easy to assume that cattle farming accelerated the disappearance of the natural vegetative cover, and possibly even the surface layer of soil, suggesting that the barrenness of Pag is precisely the consequence of a combined influence of human beings and nature. Once the soil and vegetation have been removed from the karst substratum, it is unlikely that they could be restored through natural processes in such harsh conditions. According to some experts of onomastics, the very toponym of Barbat might suggest the former presence of woodland cover. Two other toponyms existing in the area, Slana and Furnaža, are also interesting. Furnaža (mlet. for-nase) signifies a limestone furnace – a temporary drywall structure in which limestone is turned into lime, used in construction, by means of a lengthy process of burning it in

the fire. Limestone furnaces were often built in locations such as this one – by the sea and on communal land. Even though the toponym came into existence before the time of the concentration camp, it is interesting to note, and this research has confirmed, the existence of remnants of two limestone furnaces, constructed during the time of the concentration camp, on the very beach in Slana Bay. The toponym Slana, on the other hand, indicates several scant sources of water; one next to the beach, and the other above the Jewish camp – detectable by the presence of unexpected and scarce bunches of marshland vegetation. The freshwater springs organically mix with seawater, which makes them unsuitable for drinking, whereas the presence of salt in the water made its use for the construction of the camp difficult.

An important contribution to the understanding of the organization and the structure of the concentration camp, as well as and its conclusive mapping was made possible by a combined analysis of historical photographs, aerial and drone footage, GIS spatial and cartographic data and 3D modelling. The historical photographs, which were taken

je ova - uz more, na komunalnom zemljištu. Iako toponim nastaje prije vremena logora, interesantno je, a i ovim istraživanjem utvrđeno, postojanje ostataka dvije vapnenice iz vremena logora na samoj plaži uvala Slana. Toponim Slana pak označava nekoliko oskudnih izvora vode, jedan uz samu plažu, drugi iznad židovskog logora - vidljivi su po neočekivanim i oskudnim busenima močvarne vegetacije. Izvori su naime prirodno pomiješani sa morem i stoga nisu za piće, a prisutnost soli u vodi je otežavalo njezino iskorištavanje u izgradnji logora.

Važan doprinos razumijevanju organizacije i struktura logora te njihovu konačnu kartiranju omogućila je kombinirana analiza povijesnih fotografija, zračnih i dron snimaka, GIS prostornih i kartografskih podataka te 3d modela. Na povijesnim fotografijama koje su snimile talijanske jedinice nakon zatvaranja logora i koje se danas nalaze u Hrvatskom povijesnom muzeju i različitim talijanskim arhivima, vidljiv je niz struktura i objekata prije njihovog uklanjanja. Fotografije prvenstveno svjedoče o izgledu baraka, odnosno razjašnjavaju funkcije danas prisutnih linearnih i niskih gomila kamenja, a koje su jasno vidljive tek na or-

tofoto snimcima izrađenima za potrebe projekta.

Nije moguće u potpunosti utvrditi funkcije svih gomila jer ih je ukupno više nego je baraka na fotografijama. Gomile su dakle činile svojevrsne temelje za dvokrilno položene drvene ploče koje su činile barake. Prirodna uzvisina u sred kotline (na kojoj je danas križ), odnosno dvije suhe doline obostrano oko uzvisine, uvjetovali su podjelu logora na srpski i židovski dio. U srpskom dijelu lociran je veći broj temelja baraka, a po načinu izvedbe podloge i kamenih gomila može se zaključiti kako su oni na židovskom dijelu puno kvalitetniji - npr. židovi su masivniji, a prirodno neravni teren pod barakom terasasto zaravnat. Podjela logora bila je izvedena bodljikavom žicom, a o čemu povijesne fotografije također vjerno svjedoče. Točnim lociranjem fotografija, a uz pomoć 3D modela, potezi žičane ograde su djelomično i rekonstruirani.

U prostoru su danas najčitljiviji ostaci zidanih objekata. Glavni objekt, upravna zgrada, je smješten centralno u prostoru, između židovskog i srpskog logora. Po razbacanim betonskim nadvojkama vidi se da je objekt rušen, ali očito ne i u potpunosti. U neposrednoj blizini, uzidan u padinu, nalazi se

by Italian military units after the concentration camp was closed and which are today kept at the Croatian History Museum and different Italian archives, reveal a series of structures and buildings before they were removed. The photographs primarily reveal the appearance of the barracks, that is, elucidate the functions of the linear and low-lying piles of rock, still present today, which are possible to discern clearly only in orthophoto shots created for the purpose of this project.

It is not possible to fully determine the functions of all the stone piles because there are more piles in total than there are barracks in the photographs. The stone piles, therefore, served as a sort of foundation for the two-wing structure of wooden boards of which the barracks were made. The natural elevation in the middle of the basin (in the location where a cross stands today), that is, a dry valley on either side of the elevation, affected the division of the campsite into the Jewish and Serbian sections. The greatest portion of the foundations of the barracks has been located in the Serbian section, while the way the surface rock had been processed and the presence of rock piles

indicate that the foundations in the Jewish section were of much better quality – for example, the stone walls were thicker and the naturally uneven terrain under the barrack was straightened in a terraced manner. The division of the camp was done with barbed wire, which is also clearly visible from historical photographs. By pinpointing the exact locations recorded in the photographs, and with the assistance of a 3D model, it was possible to reconstruct certain sections of the fence.

Today, the most easily recognizable remnants are those of the buildings that were constructed. The main structure, which was the administrative building, is centrally located, between the Jewish and Serbian sections. The scattered concrete lintels indicate that the building was torn down, yet obviously not entirely. Built into the slope and in close proximity to the main building, there is another unfinished structure, twice smaller in size, the function of which has not been identified. On the north slope of the basin, that is, even at the highest points above the camp, three built structures have been located, which had probably served as watchtowers. Just as the administrative building,

još jedan nedovršeni i upola manji objekt neidentificirane funkcije. Na sjevernoj padini kotline, odnosno i na najvišim točkama nad logorom locirana su tri zidana objekta koji su vjerojatno bili stražarnice. Kao i upravna zgrada ustvari nikad nisu do kraja završeni. I ovdje su vidljivi tragovi rušenja, dok je jedan objekt, onaj koji gleda na Gornju Slanu, u potpuno izvornom stanju. U funkciji osmatračnica locirane su još dvije strukture, jedna nasuprot druge nad srpskim dijelom logora. Svaka je izvedena kao jednostavna terasa, suhozidno zaklonjena i podzidana.

Kartiran je i određeni broj malih kamenih gomila i suhozida te udubljenja u terenu razbacanih oko baraka. Točna funkcija ovim istraživanjem nije utvrđena, ali uspoređujući sa pisanim svjedočanstvima, može se pretpostaviti da se radilo o improviziranim kuhinjicama i nužnicima. Na obalnoj strani pješčane uvale Slana vidljiva su i dva veća okruglasta udubljenja. Prema svjedočanstvima i povijesnim fotografijama da se pretpostaviti da je riječ o vapnicama. Naime, svjedoci navode kako su one bile izgrađene i zapaljane u svrhu dobivanja vapna za izgradnju logorskih objekata. Okrugli tlocrt, dimenzije uvriježene

dimenzijama takvih objekata te ispunjenost drobljenim kamenom morfološki drugačijim od okolice, potvrđuju pretpostavku da su ova udubljenja bile upravo vapnenice. U prostoru je jasno vidljiv i dobro očuvan put u dužini od 600 m koji je izveden od suhozidnog podzida koji nikada nije do kraja završen, ali je trebao povezivati Metajnu i prostor logora s gornjom i donjom uvalom.

Krajobraz Slane iako na izgled lišen ljudskog utjecaja predstavlja vrijedan kulturni krajobraz. On nije to isključivo zbog fizičkih ostataka struktura koji svjedoče o djelovanju logora, već zbog ne- uobičajeno isprepletenih ljudskih i prirodnih čimbenika te procesa i značenja u dužem vremenskom periodu. Naime, ogoljeli krški krajobraz Paga rezultat je dugogodišnjeg kombiniranog djelovanja bure, posolice i stočarstva, djelatnosti koja još danas temelj ekonomije otoka i identiteta lokalnog stanovništva. Takav radikalni i negostoljubiv krajobraz je u II svjetskom ratu postao idealna scenografija za demonstraciju ideologije mržnje. Danas pak šire područje Slane sa svojom monolitnom bjelinom, neobičnim stijenama i liticama, morem, plažama, ali mirnoćom i nepristupačnošću predstavlja

their construction was never fully completed. There are traces of demolition visible here as well, while there is one structure, facing Upper Slana on the other side of the peninsula, that is entirely preserved. Two other structures that functioned as surveillance points have been identified, one opposite the other, above the Serbian section of the camp. Both of these were executed as simple terraces, fortified by a retention in the form of stacked rocks slope-side and shielded by a dry stone wall.

A certain number of smaller piles of rock and remnants of dry stone walls have also been mapped, as well as a number of holes in the ground scattered around the barracks. Their exact function was not determined by this research, but by consulting the written testimonials, it is possible to assume these served as improvised kitchenettes and latrines. On the coastal side of the sandy cove of Slana, two larger roundish indentations are also visible. According to the testimonials and historical photographs, it is likely that these were limestone furnaces. Witnesses state that they were built and used for producing lime for the construction of the campsite buildings. The circular

layout, dimensions typical of objects of this sort and the presence of crushed rock that is morphologically different from the rock of the surrounding area confirm the hypothesis that these were indeed limestone furnaces. There is also a well-preserved path spanning approximately 600 metres that was done with dry wall retention and was never fully completed, but was intended to connect Metajna and the camp with the upper and lower coves.

The landscape of Slana, even though seemingly free from human influence, constitutes a valuable cultural landscape – not exclusively because of the physical remnants of structures that attest to the activity of the concentration camp, but also owing to the uncharacteristically interconnected influences of human beings and nature, as well as the processes and meanings over a longer period of time. That is to say that the barren karstic landscape of Pag is the result of long-term combined effects of the northerly wind *bura*, spindrift and cattle farming, an activity that is today still the foundation of the island's economy and the identity of the local population. During World War II, this radical and inhospitable

scenu fascinantne ljepote i poželjnu destinaciju za fotografiranje i rekreaciju. Posjetitelj Slane će danas teško povući granicu između osjećaja šoka i traume te kontemplacije nad ljepotom krajobraza. Upravo ovako snažan kapacitet prostora koji ostavlja neizbrisiv i dvosmislen trag u mentalnoj mapi već nakon prvog posjeta, ima rijetko koji krajobraz na istočnoj obali Jadranskog mora.

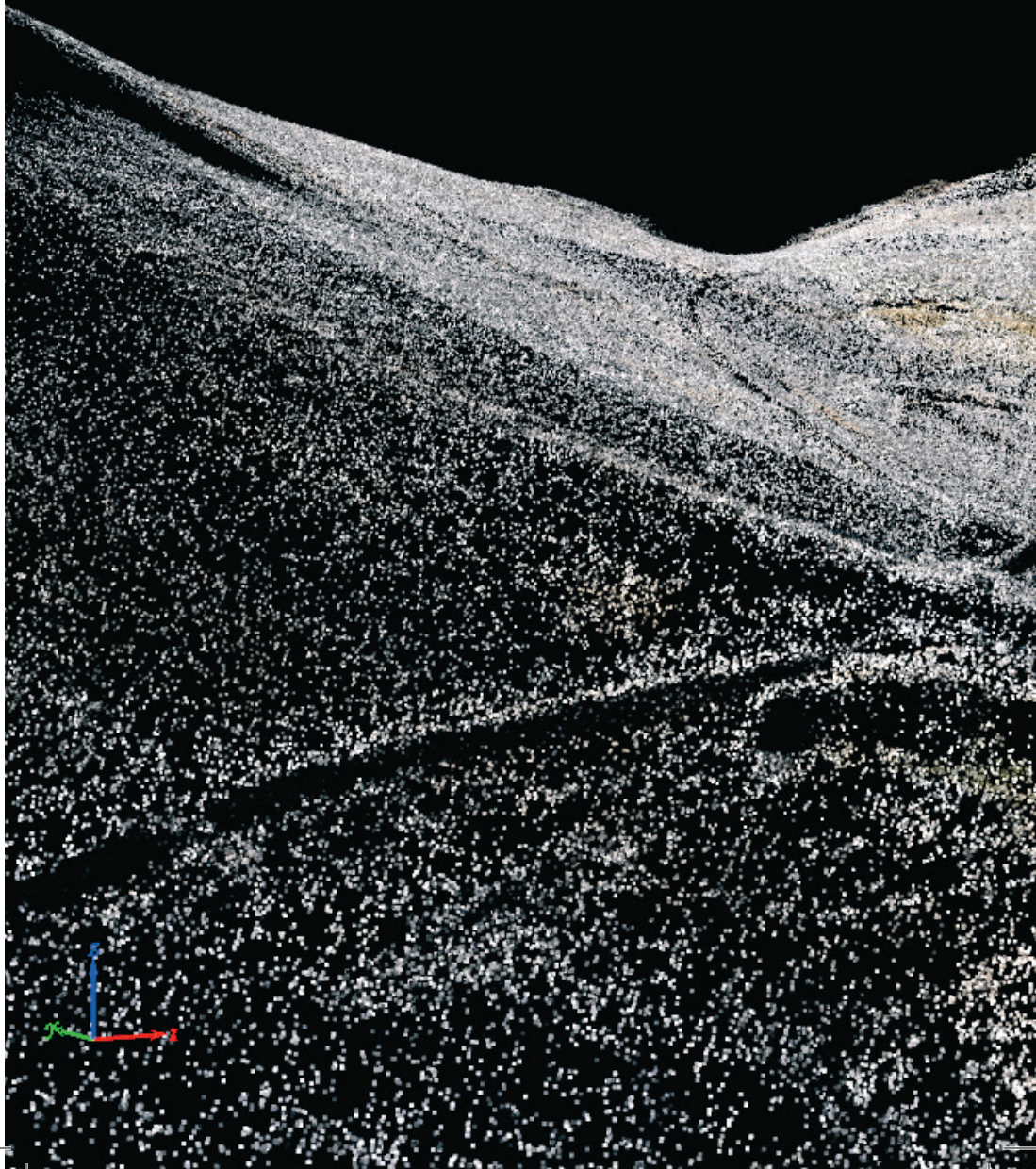
*

Grohot - jako nagrižena, oštra i neprohodna površinska stijena kao posljednja faza raspadanja vapnenca uslijed različitih kemijskih i fizičkih procesa

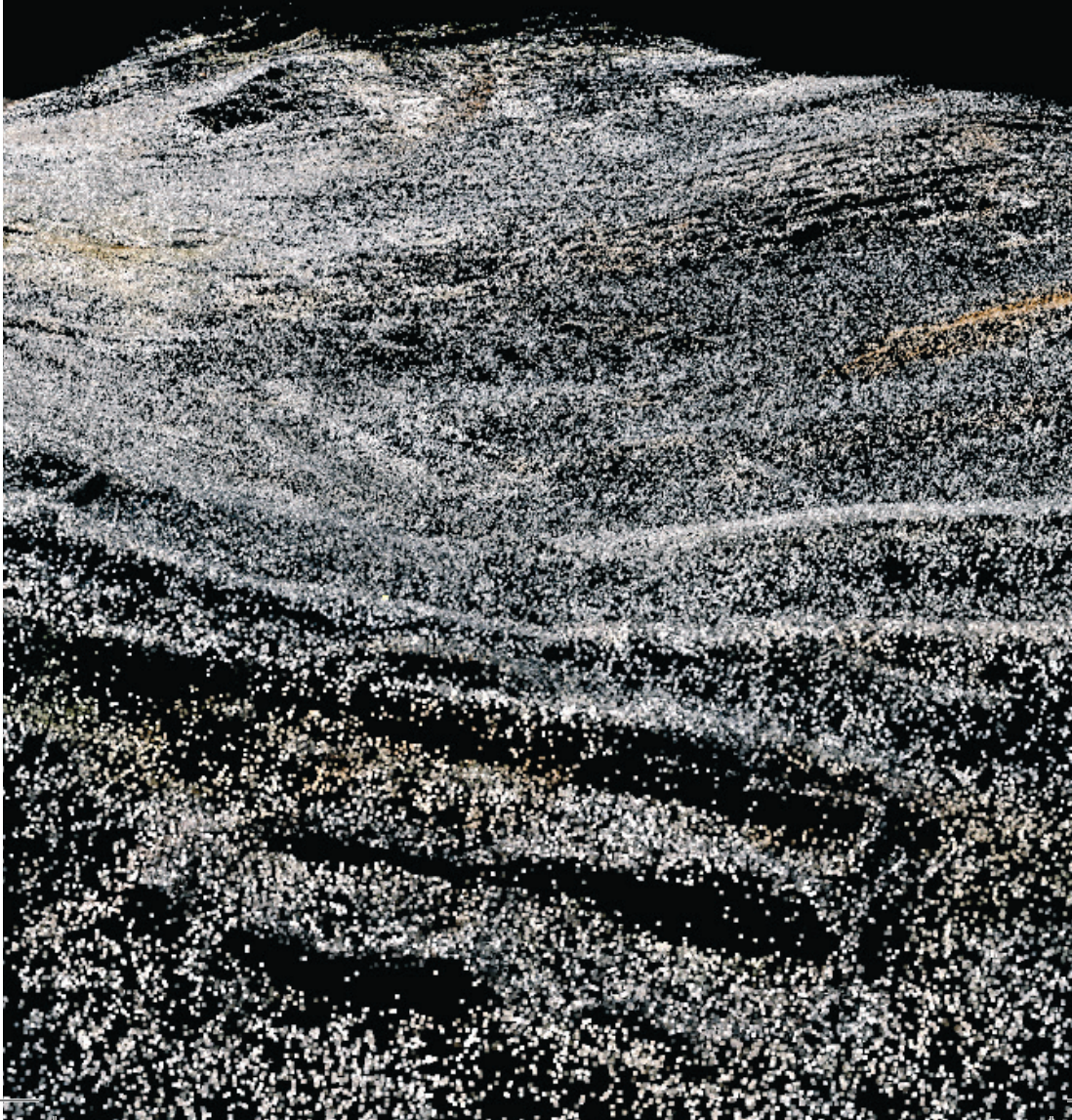
landscape became the ideal scenography for the demonstration of the ideology of hate. Today, on the other hand, the area of Slana, with its monolithic whiteness, peculiar rock formations and cliffs, the sea and beaches, but also its calmness and inapproachability, represents a site of fascinating beauty and a desirable location for photography and recreation. The visitors to Slana today will struggle to separate a sense of shock and trauma from the contemplation of the beauty of its landscape. Few landscapes on the eastern coast of the Adriatic are possessed of such powerful capacity of space, which leaves an unerasable and ambiguous mark on one's mental map even on the first visit.

*

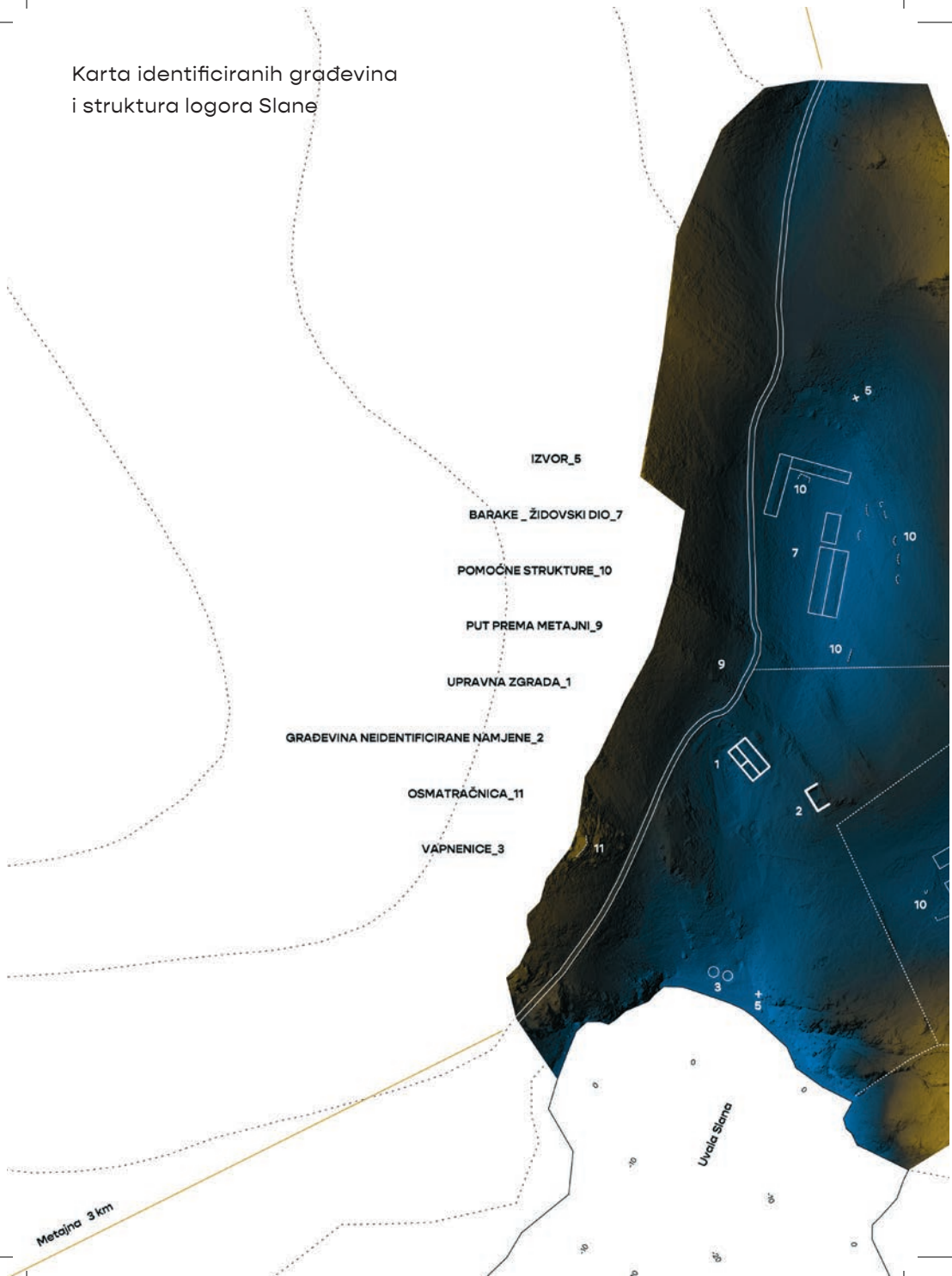
Karren – severely eroded, sharp and untraversable surface of karst rock as the final stage of the decomposition of limestone under the effect of different chemical and physical processes.

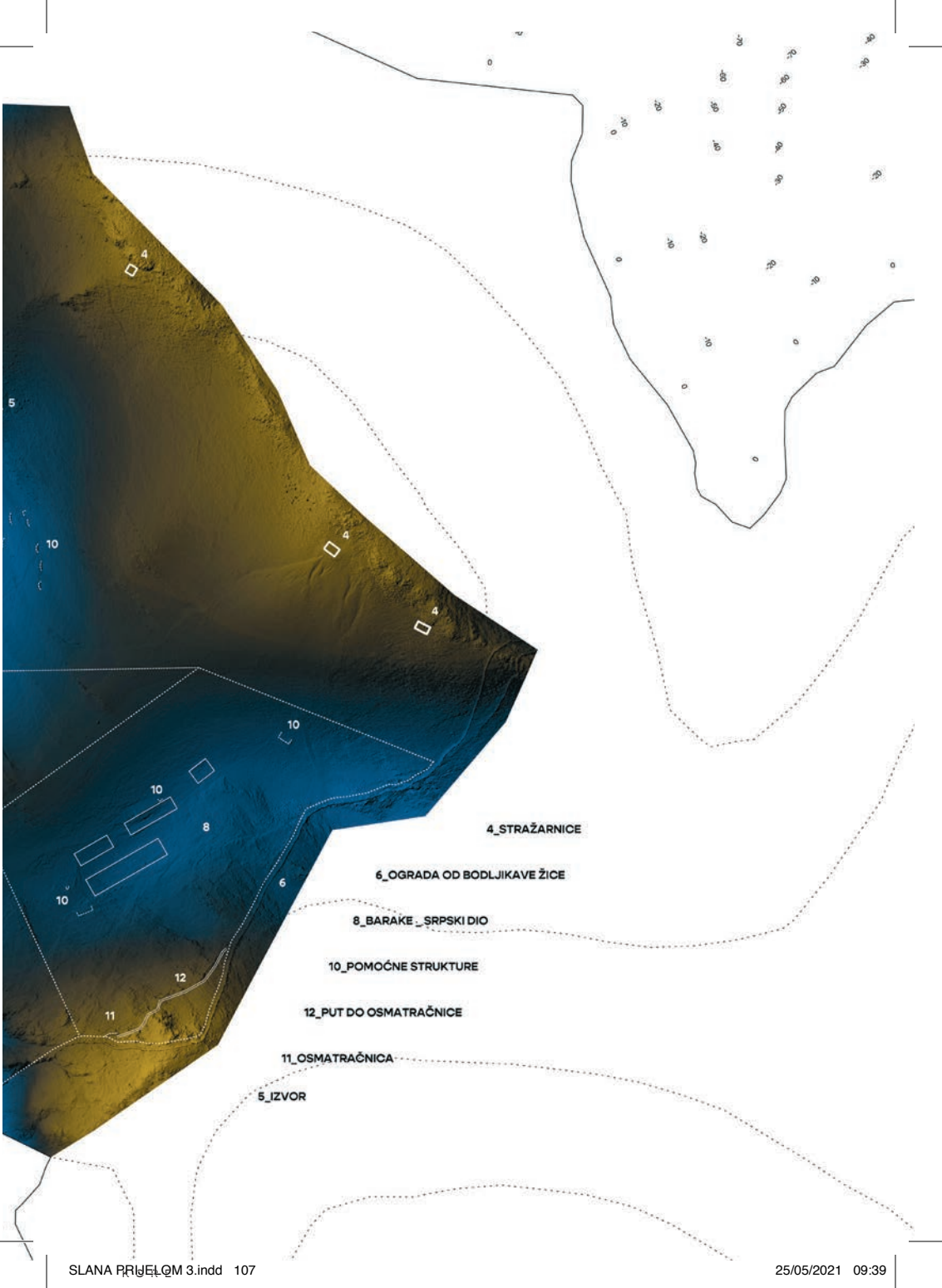


Oblak točaka kao jedan od koraka u izradi
3d modela terena i rekonstrukciji objekata



Karta identificiranih građevina
i struktura logora Slane





4_STRAŽARNICE

6_OGRADA OD BODLJIKAVE ŽICE

8_BARAKE _ SRPSKI DIO

10_POMOĆNE STRUKTURE

12_PUT DO OSMATRAČNICE

11_OSMATRAČNICA

5_IZVOR

Pogled na ustaški logor Slana na otoku Pagu, rujan 1941.
HPM/MRNH-F-11518, 8 str.

Članovi I. dezinfekcijske sekcije talijanske vojske
(V. armijskog korpusa) na terenu logora Slana, rujan 1941.
HPM/MRNH-F-9124, 10 str.

Ostaci ustaškog logora na otoku Pagu, rujan 1941.
HPM/MRNH-F-9122, 13 str.

Pogled na uvalu Slana na otoku Pagu mjesto ustaškog logora, rujan 1941.
HPM/MRNH-F-9118, 16 str.

Pogled na uvalu Slana snimljen po raspuštanju logora u kolovozu 1941.
kada na teren logora dolazi talijanska sanitetska služba.
HPM/MRNH-F11526/1, 20 str.

Crtež zatočenika Krste Hegedušića
HPM-MRNH-C-538, 22 str.

Bracere
HPM-MRNH-F-11517, 28 str.

Ustaški logor Slana na otoku Pagu, rujan 1941. Žičana ograda i žičani kavez.
HPM/MRNH-F-9128, 34 str.

Ostaci logor na Pagu. Slana. Pogled na barake i žicanu ogradu, rujan 1941.
HPM/MRNH-F-9121, 40 str.

Ženski logor rujan 1941.
HPM-MRNH-F-11520, 42 str.

Ustaški logor Slana na otoku Pagu, rujan 1941.
Leševi ubijenih muškaraca
HPM-MRNH-F-9132, 45 str.

Ustaški logor Metajna na otoku Pagu, leš ubijene žene
HPM-MRNH-F-9133, 47 str.

Pogled s mora na mjesto gdje se na otoku Pagu nalazio ustaški logor.
HPM/MRNH-F-9131, 58 str.

The view of Ustacha concentration camp Slana on the island of Pag, September, 1941.
HPM/MRNH-F-11518, p. 8.

Members of the Italian Army 1st sanitation squad (5th Army Corps) at the site of Slana concentration camp, September, 1941.
HPM/MRNH-F-9124, p. 10.

Remnants of the Ustacha concentration camp on Pag, September, 1941.
HPM/MRNH-F-9122, p. 13.

View of Slana cove on the island of Pag, the site of the Ustacha concentration camp, September, 1941.
HPM/MRNH-F-9118, p. 16.

View of Slana cove shot after the dissolution of the concentration camp in August, 1941, when the Italian sanitation squad arrived on site.
HPM/MRNH-F11526/1, p. 20.

Drawing made by prisoner Krsto Hegedušić.
HPM-MRNH-C-538, p. 22.

Brazzeras, traditional Adriatic coastal cargo sailing vessels.
HPM-MRNH-F-11517, p. 28.

The Ustacha concentration camp on the island of Pag, September, 1941. Wire fence and wire cage.
HPM/MRNH-F-9128, p. 34.

Remnants of the Ustacha concentration camp on Pag. Slana. View of the barracks and wire fence, September, 1941.
HPM/MRNH-F-9121, p. 40.

Women's concentration camp, September, 1941.
HPM-MRNH-F-11520, p. 42.

The Ustacha concentration camp on the island of Pag, September, 1941. Corpses of murdered men.
HPM-MRNH-F-9132, p. 45.

The Ustacha concentration camp Metajna on the island of Pag, body of a murdered woman.
HPM-MRNH-F-9133, p. 47.

A view from the sea of the Ustacha concentration camp site.
HPM/MRNH-F-9131, p. 58.

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